Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt

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Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt

The Narrated Diaspora, 1550–1750

By

Johannes Müller

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A Syrian ready to perish was my father . . .

Deuteronomy 26:5

• • •

When you look at the world is there a point in time when the seen becomes the remembered? How are they separate? It is that which we have no way to show. It is that which is missing from our map and from the picture that it makes. And yet it is all we have.

Cormac McCarthy, *Cities of the Plain*

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Introduction

The Revelation of the Past

In 1725, Johannes Lehnemann, elder of the Netherlandish congregation of the Augsburg Confession in Frankfurt, wrote a history of his congregation in Antwerp from where his Lutheran ancestors had migrated 140 years earlier.[1] In this work, titled *Historische Nachricht*, he described the establishment of the Lutheran congregation in early sixteenth-century Antwerp, its persecution by Catholic Habsburg authorities and the migration of its members to Frankfurt in 1585. In that year Antwerp, which had been ruled by a Calvinist-dominated magistrate for almost seven years, was taken over by Habsburg forces after a long siege, and all dissenters, Reformed, Lutheran and Mennonite alike, were forced either to leave within four years or convert to Catholicism. The Habsburg takeover of Antwerp and many other rebel towns in the Southern Low Countries led to a mass exodus of Protestants to the Dutch Republic, the Holy Roman Empire and England.[2] In May 1585, three months before the city surrendered to its besiegers, a group of Antwerp Lutherans, including the converted Sephardi minister Cassiodorus da Reina, founded its own congregation in Frankfurt.[3]

The refugee past of the Netherlandish Lutheran Church was essential to Lehnemann; he regarded it of crucial importance for the religious identity of his coreligionists and not only those of his own congregation. What the history of persecution and affliction revealed to him was the very nature of the

1 Johannes Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht von der vormahls im sechzehenden Jahrhundert berühmten evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Antorff: und der daraus entstandenen niederländischen Gemeinde Augspurgischer Confession in Franckfurt am Mayn*, Frankfurt a.M. 1725. The office of elder, which represented a typical Reformed institution, was exceptional in Lutheran churches, and the Netherlandish Church of the Augsburg Confession in Frankfurt was one of the few congregations with both elders and deacons. Members of the Lehnemann family served their congregation in these functions from 1644 until 1762. (Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Niederl. Gemeinde Augs. Confession 1, inv.nr. 1004).

2 See e.g.: Gustaaf Asaert, *1585. De val van Antwerpen en de uittocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders*, Tielt 2004, pp. 33ff.

3 The Netherlandish congregation of the Augsburg Confession in Frankfurt was in fact never recognized as an independent congregation, but was part of the Lutheran Church of Frankfurt. In 1593 the Antwerp migrants were allowed to hold their own church services, led by Cassiodorus da Reina and Anton Serarius, a French Lutheran from Montbéliard. (Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, p. 163).

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world in regard to followers of Christ, who would always be strangers on earth and subject to attacks by the ungodly. Recalling the martyrdom of his ancestor Schobland Bartels, burned at the stake in Antwerp in 1568, Lehnemann used the past to remind fellow believers that the struggle continued.[4] While everything seemed safe, Satan was in fact still raging against the godly and would unleash new bloody persecutions in the future unless the hand of God prevented him from doing so.[5] With its apocalyptic visions, the past permitted a glimpse into the eschatological nature of the Christians' position in a hostile world: until the fulfillment of all things, believers would have to suffer hostility and persecution. The past needed to be remembered and used as a mirror—it revealed what was to come. As Lehnemann asked his readers:

> But who would want to doubt that the sufferings and severe examinations of faith, that were suffered by them (the martyrs of Antwerp), could not also be ordained by God to be suffered by us and our descendants? For Babylon is still drunk on the saints' blood but not yet satisfied, and she still desires that those who refuse to worship the idol of the beast might be killed unless a higher power prevent it. Whenever one is most unaware of danger that can be the time when the believers need to be consoled and encouraged.[6]

It is unknown how Lehnemann reacted to the mass expulsion of Lutherans from Salzburg in 1731 six years after the publication of his *Historische Nachricht*, but his apocalyptic framing of the history of his congregation suggests that he saw his concerns about the future confirmed by this last great mass migration of Protestants in early modern Europe. Members of his congregation saw the pasts of their ancestors mirrored in the situation of the persecuted Salzburgers,

4 Schobland Bartels was in fact not a direct ancestor of Lehnemann but an uncle of his grandmother. Not only Lehnemann, but also his wife Rebecca von Heyden descended from the Bartels family.

5 Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, 'Zuschrift' (unpaginated foreword).

6 'Nun wer wolte zweifflen, daß die Leiden und schwere Glaubens=Prüffungen, so über jene kommen waren, aus Gottes Verhängniß nicht auch solten ihren Nachkommen begnen können? Denn Babel ist wohl truncken vom Blut der Heiligen, aber noch nicht gesättiget, und machte gern, daß, welche nicht des Thiers Bild anbeten, ertödtet würden, wo es eine höhere Hand nicht daran verhinderte. Wenn man sich am wenigsten versiehet, so kan die Zeit am nechsten seyn, in welcher man den Glaubigen [sic] zu ihrem Trost und Aufmunterung im Leiden muß zuruffen.' (Ibid., 'Zuschrift' [unpaginated foreword]).

and in 1733 they held collections to assist exiled Austrian coreligionists.[7] By the seventeenth century the Netherlandish Lutheran congregation of Frankfurt already served as a place of refuge for Lutheran believers who had fled their Catholic home territories. During the Thirty Years War, ministers from re-Catholicized parts of the Holy Roman Empire fled to Frankfurt and received assistance from Netherlandish Lutherans who still cultivated their identity as religious refugees.[8] This tradition of charity for persecuted coreligionists was continued until the mid-eighteenth century when Lutheran clerics, expelled because of their attempts to proselytize in Catholic territories, were welcomed into the congregation and supported by its relief fund.[9] While the early modern culture of martyrdom had deep roots in all Christian confessions, exiles as well as martyrs had their place in confessional memory canons.[10] In Lehnemann's narrative, exiled forefathers are celebrated as exemplary Christians who ought to be imitated by their descendants. As Lehnemann argues, not only martyrs needed to be commemorated but also those 'who in all kinds of afflictions consequently confessed the name of Jesus, and therefore left their fatherland, their possessions and goods, rather than to deny it.'[11] Moral examples set by exiled forefathers were to be cherished by members of the congregation, as they taught contemporaries about the sacrifices religious steadfastness could demand.

Lehnemann's historical account was situated, and at the same time performed, in a culture of exile that shaped the religious identity of his Lutheran congregation. Even though the congregation positioned itself in a history of suffering and victimhood and cultivated its exile past, Lehnemann lamented that not many Netherlandish traditions of the Antwerp Lutherans were preserved in Frankfurt. While some church services continued in French continued, Dutch was replaced by German in 1636, and many church members

7 Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Niederl. Gemeinde Augs. Confession 1, inv.nr. 890, fol. 365.

8 Hermann Dechent, *Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt am Main seit der Reformation*, vol. 2, Leipzig/Frankfurt a. M. 1921, p. 29. See also: Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, p. 112.

9 The most famous case was the admittance of the minister Johann Philipp Fresenius in 1752, who was forced to flee several times because of his polemic pamphlets against Jesuits and the conversion of Catholics (Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Niederl. Gemeinde Augs. Confession 1, inv.nr. 1027).

10 On the early modern culture of martyrdom see: Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake. Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge/MA 2001.

11 '[…] die Bekenner aber, welche unter allerley Drangsahlen den Namen Jesu beständig bekennet haben, und lieber ihr Vatterland, Haab und Gut, ja das Leben selbsten verlassen haben, als solchen zu verleugnen wollen.' (Ibid.).

belonged to the well-established elite of Frankfurt. In order to remember their Netherlandish past, Lehnemann recommended that his coreligionists study the original sources of the congregation:

> From those we can learn about some of the old Netherlandish families, who have been forgotten by many due to the length of time and the changing customs. For the Netherlanders in this town clung to their mother tongue, their native manners of food and clothing and other customs for a long time, through which they could easily be distinguished from other burghers and inhabitants. Yet, by and by, they gradually adopted German customs and lost those of their homeland.[12]

While the congregation continued to hold an annual commemorative service in which the fates of exiled ancestors were remembered, the cultural identity of the members of the Netherlandish Church of the Augsburg Confession was hardly distinguishable from that of their German Lutheran neighbors. Their descent from persecuted Christians remained an important part of their religious identity, but the mother tongue and customs of their ancestors increasingly belonged to the past.

While the preservation of memories of persecution and migration persisted longer in the Netherlandish Church of the Augsburg Confession than in many other Netherlandish 'stranger' congregations in Germany, England and the Dutch Republic, it was not in itself exceptional. The Dutch Revolt (ca. 1572–1648) and religious persecutions preceding it had not only led to one of the earliest and largest mass migrations in early modern Europe but also to a culture of memory that surpassed the boundaries of the Low Countries and informed the various memory canons of transnational post-Reformation Protestantism. The persecution of dissenting believers in the Low Countries by the courts of the Habsburg regime and later devastating acts of war had forced between sixty thousand and one hundred thousand people into exile, most of whom had fled to the Northern Netherlands, England and the coastal and western

12 'Woraus man unterschiedene von den alten Niederländischen Familien erkennen lernet, welche bey vielen durch die Länge der Zeit und Veränderung der Sitten ins Vergessen kommen sind. Denn die Niederländer hatten lange Zeit in dieser Stadt ihre Landes=Sprach, Manier in Speiß und Kleidung und andern Gebräuchen gehalten, durch welche man sie leicht von den andern Burgern und Einwohnern hat unterscheiden können, welches aber alles nach und nach abkommen, und in die hiesige Teutsche Manieren verändert worden ist.' (Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, p. 121).

parts of the Holy Roman Empire.[13] These migrants formed long-lasting and close-knit diasporic networks, which, as this study will show, continued to exist for at least 150 years and were bound together by shared memories of war and persecution as well as the consciousness of a common origin. This diaspora represented new social identities and generated religious and political discourses that were often adopted by groups and individuals outside the actual migrant communities. The historical narrative of religious persecution, martyrdom and exile became a constitutive element in the national and transnational memory cultures of European and American Protestantism and is, in fact, still disseminated today. While such memories were strongly fueled by later migrations, such as the exodus of Huguenots from France after 1685 and the expulsion of Lutherans from Salzburg after 1731, the mass migration during the Dutch Revolt, along with the experiences of the English Marian exiles in the mid-sixteenth century, laid a foundation for the grand narrative of persecution and exile for the sake of the Protestant faith.[14]

While the ways in which memories of persecution and expulsion were cultivated in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Huguenot diaspora have been well studied, little is known about the discourses and memories

13 See for various estimates on the numbers of migrants: Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek*, p. 80; J. J. Woltjer, 'Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek, 1572–1630' (book review), in: *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 66 (1986), pp. 264–268; Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, Harmondsworth 1985, pp. 118–19; Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806*, Oxford 1998, pp. 160, 219.

14 On the commemoration of Hugenuenots and other Protestant exiles since the nineteenth century, see e.g.: Etienne Francois, 'Die Traditions- und Legendenbildung des deutschen Refuge,' in: Heinz Duchhardt, *Der Exodus der Hugenotten*, Keulen/Wenen 1985, pp. 177–193; Rudolf von Thadden, 'Vom Glaubensflüchtling zum preußischen Patrioten,' in: Rudolf von Thadden, Michelle Magdelaine, *Die Hugenotten 1685–1985*, München 1985, pp. 186–197; Etienne Francois, 'Vom preußischen Patrioten zum besten Deutschen,' in: Von Thadden, Michelle Magdelaine, *Die Hugenotten*, pp. 198–212; Bertrand Cotrett, 'Frenchmen by birth, Huguenots by the grace of God,' in: Bertrand van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, *Memory and Identity. The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, Columbia/South Carolina 2003, pp. 310–324. For examples of the contemporary commemoration of the Protestant mass migration from the Low Countries, see e.g.: Torben W. Telder, Ursula Wegner, *Jubiläumsfestschrift zur 400-jährigen Wiederkehr des ersten Gottesdienstes in der Wallonischen Kirche*, Hanau 2009; Armin Bansa, *Festschrift der Niederländischen Gemeinde Augsburger Confession zum Gründungstag vor 400 Jahren*, Frankfurt a. M. 1985; Paul Majer, *Flüchtlingsschicksal unserer Vorfahren, Zum 375 jährigen Jubiläum der Niederländischen Gemeinde Augsburger Confession in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt a. M. 1960; Werner Schmidt-Scharff, *350 Jahre Niederländische Gemeinde Augsburger Konfession in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt a. M., 1935.

that preceded and 'pre-mediated' the canonical narrative of French diasporic Protestantism. Among earlier exile narratives, those relating the migration from the Low Countries and the sixteenth century wars of religion in France, which belonged to the canon of Huguenot memory, were the most iconic.[15] Not only did the Huguenot diaspora incorporate memories of Netherlandish exiled Protestants, it also experienced an institutional symbiosis with the French-speaking Netherlandish stranger churches in the Dutch Republic, England and the Holy Roman Empire. The Walloon Reformed Churches in Holland, Zeeland and other Northern Netherlandish provinces, as well as the French Reformed congregations in London, Frankfurt and other important exile towns of Netherlandish refugees, were originally formed by fugitives from the Low Countries but eventually became populated by Huguenots from France who, after 1685, often outnumbered Dutch migrants. The new members of the stranger churches inscribed their own memories into the historical narrative of the existing Protestant diaspora.

This book examines the memory cultures of the diaspora of migrants from the Low Countries who left during the Dutch Revolt and the organized persecution of Protestants and dissenters preceding it, and explores the functions and meanings of the commemorated past in different social, religious and political contexts. It argues that these diaspora cultures created canonic images of the past and transformed migrant identities into new forms that also allowed non-migrants to participate in the commemoration of exile and persecution. The appeal of their refugee history and identity it provided to individuals such as Lehnemann, who had more local than migrant ancestors, is remarkable. At first sight, fashioning oneself as a stranger and one's congregation as a minority group should have been a rather unattractive option in early modern European societies, which relied on local networks of trust. Urban government was typically reserved for well-established oligarchies, and descent from a local family was often a prerequisite for political and social participation in guilds and other corporate bodies. Yet discourses of foreignness and alterity were vivid, not only in religious contexts. Well-assimilated individuals and families with exile backgrounds proclaimed their refugee identity and seemingly benefited from doing so. Belonging to a minority with a refugee past could give individuals, families and institutions, such as the Dutch stranger churches in the North Sea and Rhine regions, a special status. The nature of this status and

15 For the development of a Huguenot memory canon between the wars of religion and the Edict of Nantes, see: Philip Benedict, 'Shaping the memory of the French wars of religion. The first centuries,' in: Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann e.a. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. Memory cultures in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden 2013, pp. 111–125.

the changing functions of disseminated exile identities require an explanation that takes into consideration specific political and religious circumstances in the new homes of the refugees and their descendants.[16]

Along with this rather local approach, the transnational and transregional component of the memory cultures of religious persecution and exile need to be addressed; it is important to be aware of the ways in which international diasporic networks were shaped and constituted by memories and a common sense of the past. While various local stranger communities and churches in cities of the Dutch Republic, England and Germany have already been studied as units, the question of how these communities were connected to each other and preserved a sense of belonging to a wider and transnational network has been addressed only recently.[17] In particular, the work of Ole Peter Grell has reminded us that individual Reformed stranger churches did not see themselves as individual entities but as part of an international diaspora of 'brethren

16 Surprisingly few studies have systemically examined the interactions between Netherlandish migrants and the inhabitants of their host societies. The two most notable exceptions are Heinz Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert: ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte*, Gütersloh 1972 and Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration. A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars*, Newark/Delaware 2011.

17 For existing studies on Netherlandish refugee communities, see e.g.: Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten*; Heinz Schilling, 'Die frühneuzeitliche Konfessionsmigration,' in: Klaus J. Bade (ed.), *Migration in der europäischen Geschichte seit dem späten Mittelalter* (IMIS-Beiträge 20), Osnabrück 2002, 67–89; M. Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon communities at Sandwich during the reign of Elizabeth I*, 1561–1603, Brussels 1995; A. Dünnwald, *Konfessionsstreit und Verfassungskonflikt: die Aufnahme der Niederländischen Flüchtlinge im Herzogtum Kleve 1566–1585*, Bielefeld 1998; Raingard Esser, *Niederländische Exulanten im England des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1996; J. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek 1572–1630. Een demografische en cultuurhistorische studie*, Sint-Niklaas 1985; Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England, Aldershot 1996;* Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*, Oxford 1992; Lien Bich Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London*, 1500–1700, Aldershot 2005. On the economic role of Southern Netherlandish merchants for Amsterdam as the most important staple port of the Low Countries, see: Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuidnederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt*, Hilversum 2000. For an overview of the scholarly literature up to 1994 on early modern Netherlandish exiles, see: *Janssens*, '"*Verjaagd uit Nederland.*" Zuidnederlandse emigratie in de zestiende eeuw. Een historiografisch overzicht (ca. 1968–1994),' in: *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 75 (1995), pp. 102–119.

of Christ.'[18] According to Grell, the transnational networks of Calvinist exiles and their descendants persisted over three generations and were held together by shared religious views as well as mutual bonds of trust that were particularly important for migrant merchants. These observations are of crucial value for further research and allow for a better understanding of various migrant communities as parts of wider networks that spanned Central Europe to the North Sea and Baltic coasts and the British Isles. Yet the question arises: How was the shared sense of belonging, including terms of religion, preserved among these networks over generations? This question becomes even more pertinent when we look beyond the three generations studied by Grell, who assumed that between 1650 and 1660 descendants of migrants ceased to feel 'part of the international brotherhood in Christ' and 'came to see themselves as primarily Swiss, German, Dutch or English Protestants.'[19] This view rests on the assumption that identification with the new home society put an end to the sense of diasporic belonging. However, the identification of groups and individuals with the transnational diaspora and its past lasted considerably longer than the 1660's. As this study argues, diasporic and communal identities were not mutually exclusive and could be combined and hybridized.

The assumption of a historical watershed dividing first- and second-generation migrants who saw themselves as foreigners, and their descendants, who were primarily 'German, Dutch or English Protestants,' overlooks the complex dynamics of migrant identity in a world before the emergence of modern nation states. As we will see, many migrants of the first generation seem to have been silent about their past and did their best to become part of their new societies, while subsequent generations addressed and actively cultivated the refugee past of their ancestors.[20] This pattern does not imply that migrants of later generations did not fully identify with their new Dutch, English or German host societies; rather, their behavior coexisted with their sense of belonging to the transnational diaspora and their allegiance to a wider 'imagined community' that united them with other refugees abroad. In achieving a better understanding of their processes of identification, the field of cultural memory studies can be of great help and can overcome static notions

18 Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ. A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe*, Cambridge 2011; Ole Peter Grell, 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network and its Significance for Calvinist Identity and Interaction in Early Modern Europe,' in: *European Revue of History* 16/5, 619–636.

19 Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 301.

20 See chapter 4 of this book.

of diasporic identities that rely on the logic of belonging either to the new host society or the lost homeland.

Memories and the Continuation of the Diaspora

According to William Safran, one of the key characteristics of a transnational diaspora is a collectively shared memory of a real or mythical land of origin and its history.[21] The idea of a shared descent constitutes the diaspora and allows for its continuation. Migration scholar Ann Marie Fortier goes further and posits memory as the very core of a diaspora and the identification of its members with a greater imagined group: 'How are diasporic populations constructed? Memory, rather than territory, is the principal ground of identity formation in diaspora cultures, where territory is de-centred and exploded into multiple settings.'[22] While in most cases an imagined territory, regarded as a homeland, is crucial to the continuation of diasporas, their very life relies on the preservation of the past. Without the notion of common history and identity, diasporas cease to exist and former members become part of their host societies without the translocal and transnational linkages to other migrant groups abroad. In other words, diasporas are constituted by and end with memories. Customs, habits and beliefs handed down by migrants to succeeding generations are part of a preserved, reconstructed image of the past.

Many studies on migrant communities and networks have asked how long migrants and their descendants continue to identify with a greater transnational diaspora and at what point they start to integrate into their host

21 William Safran, 'Diasporas in Modern Societies. Myths of Homeland and Return,' in: *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* vol. 1, nr. 1 (Spring, 1991), pp. 83–99. In Safran's earlier work, the wish to return to the original homeland was strongly pronounced and proclaimed as an essential characteristic of a diaspora. In the case of the Southern Netherlandish refugees studied in this book, the wish to return to Flanders and Brabant was cherished only until the period of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1621). In his more recent work, Safran turned to the more flexible and open concept of the 'homeland,' not necessarily a real geographical region but possibly a more imaginary 'home.' See: Safran, W. (2009), 'The diaspora and the homeland: Reciprocities, transformations, and role reversals,' in: Eliezer Ben-Raffael and Yitzhak Sternberg (eds), *Transnationalism. Diasporas and the Advent of a New* (*Dis*)*order*, Leiden 2009, pp. 75–100.

22 Anne-Marie Fortier, 'Diaspora,' in: David Atkinson, Peter Jackson e.a., *Cultural Geography. A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, London/New York 2005, p. 184.

societies and forget about their migratory past.[23] Such studies often depart from dichotomous notions that assume a fundamental distinction between 'here' and 'there' and a monolithic, stable concept of a homeland opposed to a host society. When we look at the memories and identity constructions that are transmitted within a diaspora, the problems of such an approach become visible. Not only is the memory of the homeland highly flexible and subject to generational changes of perspective, from the earliest recollections onwards it is always a highly imaginary place.[24] Its very being is adjusted not only by looking back but also by a re-imagination from abroad. The continuity between the place of origin and its commemoration in the diaspora is not linear, and the opposition between homeland and the new host society is not a given but a reproduction of specific circumstances under which migrants live. Looking for a point at which memory of the homeland is abandoned to make way for full integration into a new society relies on a rather mechanical and essentialist understanding of what a diaspora is, and on what Rogers Brubaker criticizes as 'groupism,' the 'tendency to take sharply bounded putatively homogenous groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflict, and fundamental units of social analysis.'[25]

To overcome such notions, which have often clouded the analytical clarity of a wide range of migration research, this study will depart from a different notion of diaspora. My starting point is that individuals are not merely born into a stable migrant community that shapes all aspects of their lives, but always have to negotiate and re-imagine their migrant identities and thereby continually reinvent the existing diaspora. To employ the famous definition by

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23 In the case of the early modern Calvinist diaspora, see e.g.: Grell, *Brethren in Christ*; Grell, 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network'; Niek Al and Clé Lesger, 'Twee volken besloten binnen Amstels wallen'? Antwerpse migranten in Amsterdam omstreeks 1590,' *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 21, nr. 2 (1995), pp. 129–144; Gerard van Gurp, 'Bosschenaars in de verstrooiing. Emigratie tussen 1579 en 1629,' *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 23, nr. 4 (1997), pp. 401–427 and to certain the degree also the works of Briels who departs from a categorical distinction between Northern and Southern Netherlandish culture. See: J. Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem omstreeks 1572–1630. Met een keuze van archivalische gegevens*, Utrecht 1976, especially pp. 39f. and Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek*, especially pp. 266ff.

24 See on the re-imagination of the homeland: Robert Cohen, 'Solid, ductile and liquid: Changing notions of homeland and home in diaspora studies,' in Eliezer Ben-Raffael and Ytzhak Sternberg (eds.), *Transnationalism. Diasporas and the Advent of a New* (*Dis*)*order*, Leiden 2009, pp. 117–134, esp. p. 132.

25 Rogers Brubaker, 'Neither Individualism nor 'Groupism.' A Reply to Craig Calhoun,' in: *Ethnicities* 3 (December 2003), p. 553. See also: Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, Cambridge/MA 2004.

Stuart Hall, their cultural identity is 'not an essence but a positioning.'[26] Being part of a diaspora is not an allegiance that is simply inherited and continued; it depends on the production and reproduction of identities subject to continuous 'transformation and difference.' According to Hall, this reproduction of identity depends on a recollection of the past, but 'telling' the past is always a 're-telling' that changes transmitted narratives and memories.[27]

Diasporas are thus subject to continuous change, not only in their collective narratives but also in function. The various aspects of individuals' lives that are shaped by diasporic identifications vary not only between generations but also between social strata as well as different expectations of the migrants' futures. While endogamy, for example, can be an essential characteristic of a diaspora, especially in its early stages when the expectation of returning 'home' is still realistic, intermarrying with natives of the new host society would not necessarily inhibit the continuation of diasporic remembering. Among the migrant families studied in this book, those who quickly struck roots in their new homes and married into local circles often fashioned their exile identities far more explicitly than those who practiced endogamy for generations.[28] Individuals with strong ties to their former home societies often did not articulate memories of their lives before their migrations and seem to have been incorporated into their new homes rather easily. These observations require explanations, as they already have important *a priori* methodological implications: they show that diasporas are neither all-encompassing entities that determine each part of a migrant's life, nor monolithic ethno-demographical facts that can be extracted from sets of data on marriage patterns or social and economic behavior. I propose to conceive of diasporas as horizons of belonging and identification which may be expressed only occasionally and do not have to conflict with the loyalty migrants feel towards the communities in which they reside.[29] To understand how and in what contexts migrant identities and memories shaped the lives of individuals in their new host societies, we will have to explore the various meanings of transmitted exile memories and the

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26 See e.g.: Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation,' in: Mbye Cham (ed.), *Ex-iles. Essays on Caribbean Cinema*, Trenton/NJ 1992, pp. 224f.

27 Ibid., pp. 234, 222.

28 See e.g. the Martens and Van Panhuys families described in chapter 4 of this book.

29 This understanding of diaspora is related to that of Rogers Brubaker, who conceives of the concept of diaspora as 'a category of practice, which is used to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties.' Brubaker goes even further and proposes abandoning the notion of 'a diaspora' in order to speak of 'diasporic stances, projects, claims, idioms, practices, and so on.'

(Rogers Brubaker, 'The 'Diaspora' Diaspora,' in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 no. 1 [2005], pp. 12, 13.)

discourses in which they were articulated and integrated into historical narratives of the migrants' neighbors.

As perceived and experienced connections between dispersed populations, diasporas rely for a great part on narrative structures and motifs which construe bonds and ties between groups in their new host societies. Literary scholar Esther Peeren has employed Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the 'chronotope' in the study of diasporas. While this concept was originally developed by Bakhtin as an analytical tool in the study of narrative texts, Peeren argues that it can be fruitful in the cultural analysis of diasporic memories. In Bakhtin's work a chronotope signifies the unity of time and space that guides and organizes the plot in a textual or oral narrative. While personal memories always consist of such chronotopes, far-reaching interruptions in one's biography, such as the sudden loss of a home, undermine their linear sequence. The world of migrants, especially those subjected to expulsions, does not consist of closed sequences of chronotopes but hybridizes both the 'here' and 'there' and the 'now' and 'then.' As Peeren argues: 'Diasporic subjects are never wholly part of either the home or the host chronotope: they do not move from one to the other without the interference of memory, but are always in negotiation with both.'[30] While this negotiation and fusion between the 'here' and 'there' may appear commonplace, Peeren's observations offer some enlightening insights into the nature of diasporic memories and identities. Instead of assuming a 'true self' of migrants that posits them either in their host society or their remembered homes, Peeren asserts that diaspora members always participate in and transcend both chronotopes. This 'dischronotopicality' creates plural identities and positionings that refer not only to the remembered past but also to the anticipated future.[31]

This observation sheds new light on how long diasporas persist and at what point migrants can be considered to be fully 'integrated' into their host societies. Instead of stressing a terminology of either integration or exclusion, I propose a change of perspective and a shift to the question of how memories of a lost past are construed and cultivated in new social and geographical contexts. Such transcultural incorporations of migrant memories into new settings are multiform and, of course, gradual. In the case of the early modern Netherlandish diaspora, a sense of belonging to or originating from a transnational diaspora continued for centuries, even when descendants of migrants participated fully in their new host societies. Given the complex intermingling

30 Esther Peeren, 'Through the Lens of the Chronotope,' in: Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephen Besser e.a. (eds.), *Diaspora and Memory. Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics*, Amsterdam/New York 2007, p. 74.

31 Ibid., p. 75.

and hybrid discursive patterns in which such allegiances were disseminated, we should take the situationality of articulated memories into account. For members of eighteenth-century migrant churches founded 150 years earlier, memories of exile and persecution were addressed only on annual commemoration days and probably did not play significant roles in many aspects of daily life. As was the case with numerous dispersed merchant families, trade and acquaintance networks between England, Germany and Holland 'inherited' from distant ancestors were maintained, even when the participants did not consider themselves 'exiles' anymore. Such linkages and allegiances reminded individuals of another horizon of belonging and of a past that at times could be experienced as part of their own identity.

Migration and Memory

Even though diasporic networks intrinsically rely on shared memories, the field of social and cultural memory studies has traditionally shown little interest in the phenomenon of migration and dispersion. It is rather surprising that the topic has only recently been addressed by students of memory.[32] Since its emergence in the first half of the twentieth century and even more so since its revival in the 1980s, the field of memory studies has primarily been concerned with constructions of the past of modern nation states as well as memories of violence and war.[33] The field has often referred to the concept

32 See e.g. the various conference volumes that have appeared during the last six years: Irial Glynn and J. Olaf Kleist (eds.), *History, Memory and Migration. Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke/New York 2012; Julia Creet and Andreas Kitzmann (eds.), *Memory and Migration. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*, Toronto/London 2011; Kuah-Pearce Khun Eng and Andrew P. Davidson, *At Home in the Chinese Diaspora. Memories, Identities and Belongings*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke/New York 2008; Baronian, Besser e.a. (eds.), *Diaspora and Memory*; E. Boesen and F. Lentz (eds.), *Migration und Erinnerung. Konzepte und Methoden der Forschung*, Münster 2010. All these studies treat only modern and contemporary cases. The nexus between memory and migration in early modern history is examined in very few modern studies, e.g. in: David Trim (ed.), *The Huguenots. History and Memory in Transnational Context*, Leiden 2011 and: Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, *Memory and Identity. The Huguenots in France*. See also: Thomas Lacroix and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 'Refugee and Diaspora Memories: The Politics of Remembering and Forgetting', in: *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 34/6 (2013), pp. 684–696.

33 See e.g.: Aleida Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, Munich 2006; Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, Munich 1999; Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning

of 'sites of memory,' largely due to the influence of the French historian Pierre Nora.[34] While this concept did not exclusively refer to spatial sites, the notion of a primarily place-bound memory seemed helpful in order not to further blur the often-discussed distinction between memory and history, with the result that other forms of memory, such as the traveling memories of migrants and nomads, were long neglected. On a world-historical scale, however, it is arguable 'that migration rather than location is the condition of memory,' as Julia Creet asserts.[35] While collectively shared memories often have a clearly identifiable location as their narrative stage, very few memories do in fact remain local. Narratives about the past typically 'travel' not only with migrants but also with temporary travelers and, perhaps more importantly, through media. This is not only the case in the contemporary world; it also occurred in premodern times.

Recent studies on memory cultures among migrants and displaced groups sometimes argue that such people develop exclusive discourses about their past, clearly distinguishable from the memory cultures of their host societies. In many cases, migrant communities form isolated 'memory ghettos' into which their members seclude themselves and which, as Maggi Leung asserts, can provide a private 'comfort zone.'[36] These exclusive memory cultures set their members apart from the rest of society and cannot easily be shared with people outside the group. In many cases discourses in which images of the past are articulated within a migrant community may prove incompatible with the collective memories of the host society and its imagination of the past. In such cases the distinctive diasporic identity is reproduced and marks a clear difference between the migrants' own imagined communities and those of their neighbors without a migration background. This view draws on the assumption that the maintenance of boundaries is an essential characteristic of a

(eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, Berlin 2008.

34 Pierre Nora, 'Between *Memory* and *History*. Les Lieux de Mémoire,' in: *Representations* 26 (1989), p. 7.

35 Julia Creet, 'Introduction,' in: Creet and Kitzmann (eds.), *Memory and Migration*, p. 9.

36 Maggi H. W. Leung, 'Memories, Belonging and Homemaking. Chinese Migrants in Germany,' in: Khun Eng and Davidson, *At Home in the Chinese Diaspora*, p. 173. See also: Andreas Kitzmann, 'Frames of Memory. WWII German expellees in Canada,' in: Creet and Kitzmann (eds.), *Memory and Migration*, pp. 93–119; Lauren Guyot, 'Locked in a Memory Ghetto. A Case Study of a Kurdish Community in France,' in: Creet and Kitzmann (eds.), *Memory and Migration*, pp. 135–155.

diaspora community.[37] While boundary maintenance is clearly an aspect of a migrant population's self-identification as a diaspora, the boundaries maintained between migrants and the society in which they live are not self-evident. In order to preserve a stable and distinctive group identity, a diaspora has to cultivate a habitus that demarcates it from the rest of society, yet culturally produced boundaries are to a certain degree embedded in the host societies.

Without denying the existence of 'memory ghettos' that provide boundaries between migrants and local populations, this book will examine the extent to which migrant experiences of the past relied on sharply drawn boundaries between their memory cultures and those of their local neighbors. As I will argue, numerous Southern Netherlandish refugees who left their homelands during the second half of the sixteenth century did not live in isolated memory ghettos; even though they developed very lively memory cultures and preserved their identity as religious exiles for centuries, the discourses in which their memories were articulated and transmitted were never totally separated from the memory canons of their host societies. Exile memories and identities incorporated collectively shared narratives about the past as told by the original inhabitants of their new towns. As individuals belonging to the transnational diaspora of Reformed migrants from the Southern Netherlands, their diasporic identity was not all encompassing but could coexist and combine with memories of various host societies. In many cases migrants were able to benefit from the fashioning of distinct exile identities, as examples in chapter 4 will show. The cultivation of the refugee past depended on specific host societies. When their religious confession or political conviction was shared by the local population, being descended from people who had suffered for the 'true faith' could bring considerable prestige. Such was often the case in the Reformed circles of the Dutch Republic and among English Puritans who honored Huguenots and Dutch Calvinists as persecuted coreligionists who had been steadfast enough to leave their homes for the sake of their convictions. In such religious climates, remembering confessional persecution did not divide migrants and native Protestants; rather, it united them in a collective identification with a shared religious cause. When members of the Netherlandish stranger churches organized commemorative meetings to remember their persecuted ancestors, the gatherings were frequented by English Puritans as well as descendants of Flemish refugees, and it is no coincidence that they were often held on the coronation day of Queen Elizabeth I of England, who was celebrated as a champion of Protestantism and had long been commemorated

37 See e.g.: John A. Armstrong, 'Proletarian and Mobilized Diasporas,' in: *American Political Science Review* vol. 70, no. 2 (1976), p. 394.

by Netherlandish exiles as a loyal host.[38] In this environment the status of belonging to a persecuted minority appealed to many locals and the memory cultures of migrants were much more easily combined with the historical narratives of their host societies than in other places. But even in surroundings where descendants of Netherlandish exiles did not find many sympathizers, their memories did not remain isolated and were shaped and informed by the memory canons of their neighbors.

Transmigration and Its Multiple Ties

The incorporation of multiple local and regional narratives into the diasporic memory cultures of Netherlandish migrants was partly due to the structure of migration processes in the Low Countries. We must not forget that the vast majority of migrants who fled religious violence and military devastation did not migrate directly from their hometowns to new places of permanent residence but often relocated several times. Many of the first-generation migrants continued to move back and forth for decades, and sometimes their children and grandchildren retained this pattern. This migration pattern during the second half of the sixteenth century can be attributed to the military situation in the Low Countries and the political changes that were brought about in various provinces. Some exiles, especially clerics such as IJsbrand Balck and Gaspar van Heyden, were exiled three times or more and lived lives of constant peregrination.[39] The great migration from the Low Countries was not a one-directional 'exodus' but a complicated process that can be roughly subdivided into three major migration waves: one that started in the 1530s and reached its height in the 1540s and 1550s, one between 1566 and the early years of the Dutch Revolt in the 1570s, and one in the mid-1580s, when the so-called 'Calvinist Republics' of Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and Mechelen were taken over by the Habsburg armies. In addition to these major migration waves, there was an almost continuous stream of Flemish and Brabant

38 See chapter 4 of this book. On the commemoration of Queen Elizabeth by Netherlandish refugees, see also: Simeon Ruytinck, 'Gheschiedenissen ende handelingen die voornemelick aengaen de Nederduytsche natie ende gemeynten, wonende in Engelant ende int bysonder tot Londen, vergadert door Symeon Ruytinck, Caesar Calandrinus ende Aemilius van Culenborgh, dienaren des Godlicken Woords,' in J. J. van Toorenenbergen (ed.), *Werken der Marnix-vereeniging*, 3d series, nr. 1., Utrecht 1873, p. 162.

39 See chapter 1 in this book.

migrants from war-torn rural areas to the Dutch Republic, England and Germany, primarily during the 1590s and the 1630s.

The destinations of refugees during the first migration period were England and western parts of Germany. Since the early 1520s, Habsburg authorities had made the struggle against heresy one of their main objectives in dealing with the situation in the Low Countries, and the prosecution of heretics was executed in a systematic manner. The dissenting migrants consisted mainly of Anabaptists and, after 1540, Calvinists as well, although the confessional allegiances of many refugees were initially vague and it has been assumed that their adherence to a clear-cut confessional group developed only in their exile towns.[40] The first Netherlandish refugee communities emerged in Wesel, Frankfurt and London and later in Aachen, Cologne, Emden and Hamburg as well as in Sandwich, Norwich and Southampton.[41] These towns became the axes of later Netherlandish refugee networks, and cities such as London and Frankfurt remained centers of migrants from the Low Countries for centuries.

The Habsburg authorities in the Low Countries expected local town authorities and magistrates to assist in the struggle against heresy and to take severe measures to punish heretics. These measures were highly unpopular among town magistrates who feared social unrest, and they were often willing to ignore suspicions of heresy. In 1566, a storm of iconoclastic fury shocked Catholic authorities in virtually all provinces of the Netherlands, and in 1567 the Habsburg government responded by instituting the so-called Council of Troubles, a central law court that dealt with the prosecution of iconoclasts and those held responsible for having permitted such actions.[42] The Council of Troubles, initially under the direction of the notorious Duke of Alba, sentenced thousands of Protestants and dissidents to death, often in absentia.[43] The Council's institution, along with the arrival of Alba's 'Army of Flanders' from Spain, launched the second major migration wave to England and the Holy Roman Empire. Among the refugees of the 1560s were not only staunch Protestants but also many who feared that they might be associated with heresy

40 The most prominent advocate of this view is Andrew Pettegree. See: Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, Oxford 1986; Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, Oxford 1992.

41 On this first major wave of migration, see: Johan Decavele, *De dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen*, Brussels 1975, pp. 577ff.

42 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 156f.

43 Approximately 1100 people were executed after being condemned by the Council of Troubles. See: M. Dierickx, 'Lijst der veroordeelden door de Raad van Beroerten', in: *Revue belge de philologie et 'd histoire* 40 (1962), pp. 415–422, William *Maltby*, *Alba. A Biography of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Third Duke of Alba, 1507–1582*, Berkeley/CA, p. 140.

and rebellion. The extreme measures and the 'broad sweep' of the Council of Troubles disturbed many who still regarded themselves as loyal Catholics but felt that Alba's approach to the problem of heresy was disproportional. Direct action against the new measures of the Habsburg regime was not immediately successful. In 1568, William of Orange, who had fled to his German territories, launched a military campaign against the Habsburg forces in the Low Countries, but failed after only a few weeks.[44] People who were afraid of being suspected of supporting Orange fled their hometowns for the western parts of Germany, especially to the coastal town of Emden, which had been an important safe haven for persecuted Protestants since the 1550s.[45]

In addition to its persecution of dissenters, the Habsburg government's general disrespect for the traditions of provincial and civic particularism, in addition to Alba's plans to increase taxes, and particularly his 1569 levy of the 'Tenth Penny,' were major sources of discontent in the towns of the Low Countries.[46] While most towns were not willing to join Orange's 1568 revolt, the situation changed during the following years. In 1572 a second campaign combining the pillage of coastal towns and villages by the 'Sea beggars' with an attack by Orange's troops encouraged a number of towns, especially in Holland and Zeeland, to openly revolt against the Habsburg government. As a result, many Protestant exiles returned to the Netherlands while thousands of Catholics fled the rebel towns and went to Antwerp, Cologne and Amsterdam, which remained loyal to the king until 1578.[47] After the signing of the Pacification of Ghent in 1576, the prosecution of heretics ceased in important Flemish and Brabant towns such as Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp, with the result that great numbers of Protestant exiles returned, eager to build a 'godly' society. New magistrates were soon installed and eventually dominated by Calvinists. These newly formed 'Calvinist Republics' became centers of the Reformation in the Netherlands and cultivated a radical form of Reformed Protestantism, which forced many Catholics into exile in Germany and cities in the Low Countries. In addition to Antwerp, Ghent became an especially important

44 K. W. Swart, 'Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje de strijd tegen de Spaanse overheersing aan te binden?', in: *BMGN* 99 (1984) p. 561.

45 Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, pp. 57ff.

46 Henk van Nierop, '*De troon van Alva.* Over de interpretatie van de Nederlandse Opstand,' in: *BMGN* 110 (1995), pp. 215f.

47 Geert Janssen, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee. Exile and the Shaping of Catholic Militancy in the Dutch Revolt,' in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2012), pp. 671–92; Geert Janssen, 'Exiles and the Politics of Reintegration in the Dutch Revolt,' in: *History*, 94 (2009), pp. 37–53.

town for Netherlandish Calvinism and harbored a theological academy where Reformed clerics were trained and prepared to serve their congregations throughout the Low Countries.[48] The 'Calvinist Republics' had short lifespans; between 1580 and 1585 they were taken over one by one by Alexander Farnese, the new General Governor of the Netherlands. The surrender of Antwerp, which was the most important trading town in the Southern Netherlands, launched a large exodus of Protestants to the Dutch Republic, Germany and, to a lesser degree, England. Even though the inhabitants were not punished for their heretical beliefs by the Catholic victors, they were forced to convert to Catholicism or leave town within a few years.[49] The 'reconciliation' of the southern rebel towns marked the end of the period of mass migration even though the migration from the Habsburg-ruled Flemish and Brabant countryside continued on a smaller scale until the early seventeenth century.

Exact numbers of migrants who left their homes due to religious persecution and war are hard to come by. As already mentioned, estimations vary between sixty thousand and one hundred thousand people, not including Catholic refugees.[50] In the first years of the 'Calvinist Republic' of Antwerp, about eight thousand people left town, many of whom likely left for religious reasons. Virtually all the northern rebel towns produced their own Catholic refugees although the numbers vary from city to city.[51] Even the number of refugees who fled because of their Protestant sympathies is unclear. Reliable numbers are available for cities such as Antwerp and Mechelen, both of which lost half their populations during the mid-1580s, but they do not offer a complete picture because many of those who left had been living in those towns as migrants.[52] In earlier estimations, many migrants were probably counted twice or even thrice because they did not simply move from one place to another but often re-emigrated. In the face of complex historical developments and political alternations, the migration of individuals and families was seldom a one-directional process; it was more likely a lengthy route of re- and transmigration during which individuals and families sometimes relocated for decades. Even migrants who settled permanently in one place typically remained connected to other migrant towns through family members and friends.

48 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 196.

49 Ibid., p. 219.

50 Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek*, p. 80; Woltjer, 'Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek.'

51 Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt in the Netherlands*, Oxford 2011, pp. 133f.

52 Asaert, *1585. De val van Antwerpen*, p. 46.

Such phenomena have only recently received attention from students of migration. As scholars in the field of modern transnational studies have noted, migration has often been studied as 'a unilinear, stage-like process of incorporation or assimilation' while individual practices of migrants and their various allegiances to diverse social and cultural entities were overlooked.[53] Furthermore, the notion of migration as a one-directional movement with clearly defined points of departure and arrival is contradicted by the findings of modern migration studies. Instead of moving from one nation state to another and leaving their ties behind, migrants often remain engaged in processes that bridge and transcend the boundaries of various stations of travel. Scholars such as Nina Glick Schiller have argued that contemporary migrants should be characterized not as 'uprooted' but rather as 'becoming firmly rooted in their new country, but maintaining multiple linkages to their homeland.'[54]

To avoid the misconception that the migration of groups and individuals brings an end to ties with former homelands and earlier stations of migration, Glick Schiller introduced the term 'transmigrant. As one-directional migration in current migration movements is not the norm, neither was it for the early modern Netherlandish diaspora. Merchants and people of other professions continued to migrate between various exile towns in the Dutch Republic and the North Sea and Rhine regions.[55] Such transmigration movements were not uncommon among the numerous textile workers who left Flanders in the late sixteenth century, and many weavers and bleachers moved via Western

53 Robert C. Smith, 'Transnational Localities. Community, Technology and the Politics of Membership within the Context of Mexico and U.S. Migration,' in: Luis Elgardo Guarnizo, Michael Peter Smith, *Transnationalism from Below*, New Brunswick, NJ 1998, p. 197. See also: Michael Peter Smith, *Transnational Urbanism. Localizing Globalization*, Malden/MA 2001, pp. 3ff.

54 Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc, 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant. Theorizing Transnational Migration,' in: *Anthropological Quarterly* 68 (1995) 1, pp. 48–63. While transnationalism of this kind is often thought of as a very recent phenomenon and linked to theories about the 'end of the nation state,' Leo Lucassen has questioned the newness of such phenomena. As he argues, during the height of modern nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, migrant communities were able to surpass national borders and ethnic differences, as in the case of Catholics who formed transnational networks during the German Kulturkampf of the 1870s. (Leo Lucassen, 'Is Transnationalism compatible with Assimilation? Examples from Western Europe since 1850,' in: *IMIS-Beiträge* 29 (2006), pp. 11–31.)

55 Oscar Gelderblom, *Zuidnederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578–1630)*, Hilversum 2000, pp. 74–76; Grell, 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist network,' pp. 630ff.

German territories or the English coast to the Dutch Republic.[56] These migration routes left traces, and many migrants built networks which they and their descendants later relied upon. As chapter 5 of this study will show, many families continued to travel and migrate along the same routes as their forefathers until the late seventeenth century.

The continuous transmigration of many early modern migrants from the Low Countries shaped the narratives and memories that were preserved and handed down to future generations. While many accounts of the refugees' pasts employed a narrative mode that suggested a linear departure from the lost to the new 'home' and served as tales of origin, sources also reveal a sense of belonging to a traveling diaspora that was not found in a fixed territory but spread across Germany, the Dutch Republic and England. Studies on modern transmigrant networks show that diasporas create links and bonds in their various host societies but at the same time cultivate the idea of an imaginary homeland that serves as a binding factor. As Michael Peter Smith put it, the experience of migration often produces a 'multiple emplacement or situatedness both *here* and *there*.'[57] The diaspora's 'cultural bifocality' also invokes the notion of a homeland or a 'there' which 'Benedict Anderson would call an "imagined community" invented by deterritorialized people to manifest absences in their lives.[58] While the notion of a common origin structured the narratives through which individuals identified themselves with the wider Netherlandish refugee diaspora, it was not always clear where the common homeland actually was. The experience of exile historically coincided with the emergence of a supra-regional patriotic discourse that united various provinces in the Low Countries, and the 'homeland' was often created retrospectively. It is therefore not surprising that refugees played an important role in the production of what Simon Schama has called 'patriotic scripture,' engaging in discourses that would contribute to a 'proto-national' consciousness in the Dutch Republic.[59]

56 See e.g.: N. W. Posthumus, *De geschiedenis van de Leidsche lakenindustrie*, vol. 2, The Hague 1939, pp. 12–14.

57 Michael Peter Smith, 'Translocality. A Critical Reflection,' in: Katherine Brickell, Ayona Datta, *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*, Burlington 2011, p. 181.

58 Michael Peter Smith, 'Can you Imagine? Transnational Migration and the Globalization of Grassroots Politics,' in: *Social Text* 39 (Summer 1994), pp. 17, 18.

59 Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, New York 1988, 51ff.

Diasporic Imagination and Patriotic Discourse

Research on modern transnational networks has shown that transmigrant communities often harbor a strong ambiguity regarding memories of the homeland.[60] As Lousia Schein demonstrated in the case of Chinese and Laotian refugees looking for marriage partners in their countries of origin, the imagined homeland can serve as a nostalgic projection while 'dreamlike memories' of a home that 'housed the most archaic pockets of their tradition left on earth' goes together with a deep abhorrence of the present political reality. The complex discourses about the lost homeland of early modern Netherlandish refugees are deeply marked by such ambiguities. While many southern exiles in the Dutch Republic insisted on the unity of all provinces of the Low Countries and claimed that Holland was also their home, they also referred to themselves as strangers. The cities of Brabant and Flanders remained their imagined homelands even when it had become clear that a return would not be possible in the foreseeable future. The situation of exiles outside the Netherlands was even more ambiguous: while most had fled from the Southern Netherlands, the Dutch Republic increasingly became the cultural and geographical center of the transnational diaspora although memories of the lost South were still preserved.

Given the complexity and variety of early modern social identities, the term 'cultural bifocality' is arguably an understatement and it might be more appropriate to speak of 'multifocality.' As Alastair Duke put it, the early modern Netherlands consisted of a 'multiplicity of fatherlands [that] had its counterpart in the plethora of nations,' and Ole Peter Grell characterized the experience of Calvinist migrants in the Dutch Republic as grounded in the 'experience of multiple geographies.'[61] The identity formation of groups and individuals during the Dutch Revolt was in fact shaped and challenged by the experience of migration. While the political unification of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries was a slow process accomplished by Burgundians and Habsburgs during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the trend towards aggregation was almost constantly thwarted by persistent regionalisms and localisms. Not only various provinces but also self-confident trading towns of the coastal regions insisted on their traditional privileges, which were

60 Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc, 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant,' p. 51. Louisa Schein, 'Forged Transnationality and Oppositional Cosmopolitanism,' in: Elgardo Guarnizo, Smith, *Transnationalism from Below*, pp. 291ff.

61 Alastair Duke, 'Patriotism and Liberty in the Low Countries, 1555–1576,' in: Judith Pollmann, Robert Stein, *Networks, Regions and Nations. Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, Leiden 2010, p. 221; Grell, 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network,' p. 620.

threatened by ongoing centralization efforts.[62] The promotion of distinct local identities thus often served direct political goals.

The identity formation of numerous migrants during the Dutch Revolt was shaped by the interplay of various local, regional and transregional constructions of identity. As Judith Pollmann has argued, the older discourse of a 'common Netherlandish fatherland,' launched by William of Orange and his followers, was rediscovered by a later generation of Southern Netherlandish refugees in the Republic who, on the eve of the Twelve Years' Truce, spread their message of a conjoined struggle of all free Netherlanders against the Spanish yoke of oppression.[63] What makes the memory practices of these refugee pamphleteers and authors so intriguing is the interplay between various discourses employed to refer to new constellations of identity. Both Northern Catholics in the South and Southern Protestants in the Republic propagated a common Netherlandish identity while deploying elements of regional and local as well as confessional and political discourses. These constructions of a common identity also laid claim on the territories of opposing political camps and thereby created the paradoxical situation in which the proclamation of unity actually led to separation. They also legitimized the position of the migrants: not only had they suffered persecution, if the Netherlands was the homeland of all patriots, Brabanders and Flemings were not total strangers in Holland and Zeeland.

Modern migration historians have pointed to the phenomenon of 'diasporic nationalism,' which projects a national community on an imagined space of either a distant homeland or a permanent diaspora in which the community is united by a common heritage. These diasporic nationalisms do not necessarily conflict with loyalties and affections towards other national or local entities, such as nationalist sentiments of the host society. As Matthew Frye Jacobson demonstrated in the case of Irish, Polish and Jewish immigrants to the United States, European ethnic nationalism or Zionist enthusiasm often went hand-in-hand with American patriotism.[64] Frye Jacobson, who focused on periodicals, novels and other literary texts to study the diasporic imagination of European transnational communities in the United States, argued that ethnic Americanism itself was often informed by an amalgam of various European nationalisms held together by an appeal to the 'love of Liberty.' Even if many aspects of modern nationalism do not allow for direct comparisons

62 See e.g.: Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 129ff.

63 Judith Pollman, 'No Man's Land. Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585–1621,' in: Pollmann, Stein, *Networks, Regions and Nations*, pp. 241–263.

64 Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows. The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish Immigrants to the United States*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 2002, p. 241.

with early modern local patriotism and regionalism, we can gain valuable insights from these findings. The diasporic networks and communities of Netherlandish refugees during and subsequent to the Dutch Revolt had a supra- and translocal character in multiple ways: not only did they share the experience of 'multiple geographies' and center their group identification on the imagination of a lost and distant homeland, their evocation of patriotic sentiments referred to constructs of identity that united and redefined various local and regional identities.

These observations may also lead to a better understanding of what Schama called 'patriotic scripture.'[65] While Schama gave an impressive description of a discourse on Dutch patriotism that was disseminated in pamphlets, songs and historiographical works, its multiform frames of reference and the various and sometimes contradicting motivations of the agents behind it remain largely undiscussed. Public manifestations of Dutch patriotism were of a highly hybrid and ambiguous nature. The notion of a common fatherland was decisively shaped by refugees and exiles from both sides, and the theme of exile served as a political argument that could be deployed for various purposes. At the same time, unifying patriotism coexisted with and combined various localisms. The biblically inspired exodus narrative that was often referred to, and culminated in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century notion of a 'Netherlandish Israel,' was a more complex discursive constellation than Schama envisaged.[66] To gain a better insight into the dynamics of Dutch and Southern Netherlandish supra-regional patriotisms, their various hybrid and intermingling strands need to be dissected and re-examined. While the exodus discourse is often exclusively ascribed to Calvinist orthodoxy, its possible appeal to adherents of other confessional currents requires an explanation. As this book shows, even the most loyal Reformed pamphleteers and chroniclers were willing and able to switch between various discourses and argumentations.

The rhetoric of exodus was employed by adherents of all early modern confessions and even by individuals who deeply resented the confessionalism of their age. However, not all groups produced a long-term diaspora and Protestants and Mennonites of various confessions and subconfessions were especially successful in the intergenerational transmission of their exile narratives. Catholics and aconfessional spiritualists are therefore included only in the first two chapters and used to illustrate the fact that religious cultures of exile were not a uniquely Protestant phenomenon. While most of the Northern Catholics were clerics who did not hand down their experiences

65 Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, pp. 51ff.

66 C. Huisman, *Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw*, Dordrecht 1983.

to (legitimate) progeny, the notion of a wandering diaspora often died with them and was not continued by non-migrant coreligionists. In the case of nonconformist spiritualists, the lack of institutional church organizations also put an end to the long-term transmission of memories and identities.

Exile Memories and Their Changing Meanings

The chronological scope of this book covers the approximate period between 1550 and 1750. The functions and meanings of the migrants' memories of persecution and exile in this period varied immensely. This study departs from the imagination of a wider diaspora, which produced a religious discourse of exile and homelessness that could be adopted by migrants to create a meaningful narrative of their situation. The first chapter shows how a widely shared and recognizable discourse of exile emerged in the migrant networks and how it structured allegiances and identifications with the imagined diaspora. The religious discourses of exile that emerged during the early migration period from the Low Countries laid the foundations for a culture that would be continued and redefined throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The following two chapters examine ways in which Southern Netherlandish migrants in the Dutch Republic, especially in Haarlem and Leiden, used their past to promote concrete political visions and, once they realized that a return to their lost homes would not be possible in the near future, tried to define their position in the new host society. The fourth chapter shows how memories were preserved in family circles for decades and centuries and analyzes how the past was reinvented by later generations needing to make sense of their ancestors' history. The last two chapters focus on the translocal connections of migrant networks, especially between Frankfurt, London and the Dutch Republic, and examine how migrant networks persisted until the eighteenth century and how memories played an important role in this process. Finally, the cultivation of exile memories in Pietist circles is explored, and the sixth chapter shows why non-migrants were attracted to exclusivist diasporic networks and how memories of exile and homelessness became part of and survived in novel religious cultures that strived for religious exclusivism and new forms of piety.

In order to show how divergent the functions and meanings of exile memories in the Netherlandish diaspora networks were, this book treats a wide range of sources. To map the communicative and pragmatic aspects of exile memories, it examines published texts in which memories of exile and persecution are disseminated. Among those sources are literary texts such as plays and poems, but also historiographical writings, pamphlets and printed sermons.

In addition to these texts, personal documents and family histories are used to study the interrelation of public and private memory discourses. Written correspondence between family members and friends is used to illustrate the development of exile memories in the first decades after migration. The memory cultures of later generations can be studied using family histories that were written and rewritten by individuals who had not experienced flight and exile themselves and were often well-established in their 'new' hometowns. This book treats material from sixteen family histories and genealogical note collections from patrician families with Southern Netherlandish backgrounds.

The use of a wide variety of sources aims to offer a picture that is as representative as possible, but we should be aware that most traces of early modern memory are lost. Recording family history was only practiced in elite circles, and the same was true for published printed texts. Original voices from the lower strata of society are therefore scarce and sources from migrant laborers such as the Haarlem yarn bleachers who gave descriptions of their parents' flight from Ypres are an exception.[67] Another dramatically under-represented group is women. While students of memory have often identified early modern women as important agents in the oral tradition of family memories, the only documents in studied family archives written by women are succinct records of births, deaths and marriages.[68] Only in the context of Pietist and orthodox Reformed cultures examined in chapters 4 and 6 do women such as Anna Maria van Schurman, Jacoba Lampsins, Elisabeth Bartels-Schütz and Anne Locke Prowse play more important roles. While most women in the Netherlandish diaspora, especially in rich merchant circles, were more literate than the average European woman of the time, few women seem to have taken it upon themselves to write about distant genealogical issues. For now, a methodology providing a better grasp on wider populations that participated in translocal cultures of exile and homelessness by studying non-literary social practices remains a desideratum.

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67 S. C. Regtdoorzee Greup-Roldanus, 'Pieter van Hulle (1585–1656). Schrijver van het "Memoriael van de overkomste der Vlaemingen hier binnen Haerlem," ' in: *Nederlandsche Historiebladen* 1938, p. 482.

68 For example, the booklet with family records of Magdalena Thijs (UB Leiden, Arch. Thys. inv. nr. 148). See on the role of women in early modern memory transmission: Katharine Hodgkin, 'Women, memory and family history in seventeenth-century England,' in: Kuijpers, Pollmann e.a. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity*, pp. 297–313. As Ulrike Gleixner has shown for nineteenth-century Germany, women wrote family histories in the names of their husbands or sons (Ulrike Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum. Eine historische Anthropologie der Frömmigkeit*, Göttingen 2005, p. 374.) However, I have no evidence that this was the case in any of the manuscripts I studied.

CHAPTER 1

Imagining the Diaspora

The Formation of Diaspora Narratives

The Netherlandish diaspora networks that persisted for about two centuries relied on narratives that explained the reasons for their existence and provided commonly recognizable tales of origin. The discourses in which these narratives were developed emerged in the 1550s and were continued and modified by subsequent generations of migrants. Writings of the first generation of the diaspora set the tone for later chronicles and other historiographical works of various stranger churches. This chapter describes the emergence of discourses that shaped later diasporic networks and provided images with which individuals and groups could identify. Such processes of identification were necessary for the formation of the diaspora. Refugees from the Low Countries and their descendants saw their fate not as an individual experience but as one shared with a wider community of exiles with whom they remained connected, often over great distances.

Historians and church historians have sometimes attributed the cultivation of a diasporic mentality and a pronounced theology of exile to specific branches of western Protestantism, especially Calvinism.[1] We must, however, not forget that these religious diasporic discourses had their own development and were not initially and self-evidently part of the new confessional cultures that emerged in the sixteenth century. This chapter explores how these discourses came into being and how they were appropriated by groups and individuals within refugee networks. While the scholarly discussion of a specific Reformed 'exile theology' has long focused on Calvin's works, it is unclear to what extent his writings influenced wider audiences of exiled believers and how the consciousness of belonging to a religious diaspora was cultivated in the exile networks. To answer these questions, we need to look at a wider range of sources relating to the early Netherlandish diaspora such as

1 See e.g.: Heiko A. Oberman, '*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees', in: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992), pp. 91–111; Heiko A. Oberman, *Two Reformations. The Journey from the Last Days to the New World*, London / New Haven 2003, pp. 145ff.; Heinz Schilling, 'Christliche und jüdische Minderheitengemeinden im Vergleich. Calvinistische Exulanten und westliche Diaspora der Sephardim im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in: *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 36/3 (2009), p. 436.

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pastoral-theological works on exile, sermons and pamphlets of exiled clerics and historiographical works on persecution and flight.

While going into exile eventually came to be regarded as a sign of religious steadfastness and acquired a certain prestige, this was not always the case. As defenses of refugees from the 1550s show, the choice to flee could also be seen as an act of cowardice. In particular, the flight of clerics responsible for the spiritual well-being of other believers could require justification. The purity of the motives for emigration was also sometimes addressed: were the refugees really driven by their faith or were they seeking their fortunes abroad? Even if such discussions ended after the first phase of the mass migration from the Netherlands, they shaped the way in which religious exile would later be perceived.

In Defense of the Diaspora

In June 1558, around the feast of Corpus Christi, inquisitor Nicolaas de Castro traveled to the North Holland town of Alkmaar to arrest Cornelis Cooltuyn, a former Catholic priest who had become notorious for preaching evangelical doctrines and refusing to say mass. Before De Castro reached Alkmaar, however, Cooltuyn was warned and left town in haste for Emden, one of the major safe havens for Dutch Protestants and other dissenters.[2] In his well-known pastoral work *Dat Evangeli der Armen* ('The gospel of the poor') Cooltuyn stated that the person who had warned him and thereby saved his life must have been an angel.[3] The decision to include this element in the narrative was more than a mere mystification of the story and it served as a justification of Cooltuyn's choice to flee and serve the Reformed congregation in his North German town of exile. As he felt, the choice to avoid martyrdom by going into exile required an explanation. From the beginning of the Reformation in the Netherlands the new Reformed martyrs had been commemorated and celebrated as exemplary believers who had feared neither death nor torture in order to remain loyal to the 'true religion.' By the 1540s Flemish rhetoricians were composing songs about old and new martyrs, and in 1559, the same year that Cooltuyn's *Dat Evangeli der Armen* saw the light, Reformed minister Adriaan van Haemstede published his famous martyrology which would become the canonical martyrs

2 G. N. M. Vis, *Cornelis Cooltuyn (1526–1567): de vader van de Hollandse reformatie*, Hilversum 1995, p. 140.

3 Cornelis Cooltuyn, *Dat Evangeli der Armen, Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, deel 9: *Geschriften van gemengde aard*, The Hague 1912, pp. 239, 240.

book of Dutch Reformed Protestantism.[4] Although van Haemstede was himself an exile in Emden and London and certainly did not condemn fleeing for religion's sake, martyrdom had gained such prestige that other refugees, especially clergy, felt the necessity of defending their choice not to have ended their lives as martyrs.

Dat Evangeli der Armen was composed as a pastoral device for 'miserable Christians' and, as the title page states, was written by Cooltuyn 'to comfort himself, while in exile and also others who are in affliction.'[5] In the introduction, Cooltuyn explains his decision to choose exile over martyrdom. Though martyrs need to be praised, Christ had not commanded his disciples to be slaughtered like sheep but to leave for another town when their message was outlawed. Even Jesus himself had fled persecutors several times, so, as Cooltuyn argues, martyrdom was acceptable only for those who had not been forewarned and were surprised by enemies of the Gospel.[6] Becoming a martyr deliberately was therefore not only against Christ's explicit orders but also a sign of recklessness rather than piety. Furthermore, acceptance of the Christian message did not depend on the death of its witnesses, as illustrated in the cases of Jan Hus, Jerome of Prague and Jan de Bakker. Cooltuyn asserts that preaching the gospel is far godlier than suffering death and torture.[7] In his defense of exile and his plea to avoid martyrdom, he even went so far as to praise St. Peter for his denial of discipleship at the court of the High Priest Annas, an episode traditionally considered the apostle's weakest moment. Instead of accusing the Peter of cowardice, however, Cooltuyn's depicts his betrayal as prudent and defends it by misquoting a verse from Ecclesiastes 3: 'He, who loves danger, shall perish in it.'[8] Finally, the assertion that it was an angel who had warned him to flee Alkmaar provides Cooltuyn's argument with the highest possible authority: going into exile was fully in accordance with the will of God, whose angel had saved the life of his servant.

The example of Cooltuyn sheds more light on established assumptions regarding the legitimacy of exile, as viewed by various early modern religions confessions. Church historians have often seen the cultivation of religious

4 Adriaan van Haemstede, *De historien der vromer martelaren / die om het getuygenis des evangelij haer bloet vergoten hebben: van tijden Christi af tot dezen tegenwoordigeghen tijde toe opt corte by een vergaert*, Antwerp 1559.

5 Cooltuyn, *Dat Evangeli der Armen*, p. 217.

6 Ibid., p. 240.

7 Ibid., p. 241.

8 Ibid., p. 240: 'Die dat Perijckel liefheft, sal daer in in vergaen (Eccles. 3).' This quote does in fact not resemble any verse in Ecclesiastes 3.

exile identities as characteristic of Netherlandish and international Calvinism, while early modern Catholics and Lutherans are believed to have condemned the choice to flee religious persecution as cowardice.[9] As Geert Janssen has recently shown, the question of whether it was legitimate for Christians to choose exile over martyrdom was indeed discussed by Catholics who faced violence at the hands of Protestant rebels.[10] However, attitudes towards the decision to flee soon changed, and exile came to be described similarly to Protestant writings on the topic. On the other hand, the first generation of Reformed Protestants in the Low Countries had yet to find an answer to the challenge of persecution and to decide whether exile was to be preferred to martyrdom.

Just as in Catholic circles, the question of how to deal with religious persecution was also discussed among adherents of the Lutheran confession. When in 1566 the Lutheran congregation in Antwerp was confronted with increasing pressure by the government of Margaretha of Parma, the ministers requested advice from the University of Rostock on how to respond to present hardships. The answer from Rostock, published in the same year under the title *Ein Schrifft an die Christen zu Antuerpen der Theologen zu Rostock* ('Missive to the Christians of Antwerp from the theologians of Rostock') was clear: their evangelical faith was to be maintained; however, participating in violent resistance against the secular government was forbidden.[11] The refusal of the Antwerp Lutherans to partake in the resistance against the Habsburg authorities would remain a contentious issue for decades, but it fostered the early decision by the Lutheran community to go into exile in Frankfurt where many of its merchant

9 See e.g.: Heiko A. Oberman, 'Toward the Recovery of the Historical Calvin. Redrawing the Map of Reformation Europe,' in: Heiko A. Oberman, *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees*, Geneva 2009, esp. pp. 79–92; Schilling, 'Christliche und jüdische Minderheitengemeinden,' p. 436; Heinz Schilling, 'Peregrini und Schiffchen Gottes: Flüchtlingserfahrung und Exulantentheologie des frühneuzeitlichen Calvinismus,' in: Ansgar Reiss and Sabine Witt, *Calvinismus. Die Reformierten in Deutschland und Europa*, Berlin 2009, pp. 160–168.

10 Geert Janssen, 'Quo vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries. 1566–1609,' in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 64/2 (Summer 2011), pp. 472–499. See also Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, p. 133.

11 Otto Krabbe, *David Trychäus*, (part 1), Rostock 1870, p. 188; Otto Krabbe, *Die Universität Rostock im funfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Rostock 1854, p. 642; Eckhard Dünker, *Freudenchristentum: Der Erbauungsschriftsteller Stephan Praetorius*, Göttingen 2003, p. 112.

members had contacts.[12] This Lutheran exodus from Antwerp preceded the great Reformed trek of 1585 by almost ten years; in 1576, after the Spanish Fury, many Lutherans had already left. The choice to leave, however, was not an impromptu decision but one made after thorough theological consideration based on scholarly advice from Lutheran divines from Germany. Fleeing one's homeland obviously demanded a justification in order not to be regarded as cowardice or opportunism.

Another indication of the suspicious attitude towards exile can indirectly be found in the works of Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert, a Haarlem artist and poet inclined towards an idiosyncratic form of spiritualism. In various poems, plays and tracts, Coornhert reflected on the experience of leaving one's homeland for the sake of faith. Coornhert had himself been forced to flee his native Holland several times in the 1560s and 1570s and wrote a number of songs and biblical plays in which he reflected on the experience of exile and dispersion. In his *Lied-boeck* ('Songbook'), which he published around 1575, he criticizes his fellow refugees for not living godly enough lives, and calls for a spiritual renewal of believers in exile: 'We flee the land but no one flees evil and everyone puts his trust in men rather than in the Lord.'[13] As he points out, exile was a necessary choice in the face of persecution but one should also interpret it as a lesson and an exhortation to a more spiritual life. He comments that many exiles behaved greedily and selfishly and did not live according to God's will: 'What do we gain from freedom from our oppressors' hands if our soul is trapped by Mammon's bonds?'[14] Migration for the sake of one's faith should thus imply spiritual conversion and observation of Christ's commands. Without spiritual self-examination, fleeing one's oppressors was nothing but cowardice, and refugees who did not live presentable Christian lives were to be suspected.

In Coornhert's biblical play *Abrahams Uytgangh* ('Abraham's exodus'), which dates from the same period as the *Lied-boeck* and was dedicated to his Wesel host and protégé, Arend van Wachtendonck, the subject is treated in a similar way. Reflecting on the ambiguities of the choice to migrate, Coornhert introduces the allegorical character *Communis opinio*, who tries to prevent Abraham from leaving his hometown of Ur in Chaldea. *Communis opinio*

12 Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550–1577*, Antwerpen 1996, p. 143; J. W. Pont, *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618*, Haarlem 1911, p. 89.

13 Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, *Lied-boeck*, Amsterdam (ca. 1575), fol. B7r.:
'Wy vluchten tland, maar niemant boosheyd vliet
Elck bout op mensch, maar opten Heere niet.'

14 Ibid., 'Wat baat ons vryheyd vander menschen handen Als darme ziel vast leyd an Mammons banden.'

represents the voice of the refugee's contemporaries who accuse him of motivations other than piety, such as social and religious elitism, economic considerations and cowardice. Even though the author lets Abraham emerge triumphantly, he warns of unjustified reasons for choosing exile. In the preface to the poem, Coornhert presents two allegorical characters: *Cruysvlucht* ('Flight from the cross') and *Raedwel* ('Good counsel'). *Cruysvlucht* is eager to flee his homeland in order to avoid the plagues God has sent to punish the wrongdoings of the country.[15] *Raedwel* admonishes him to meditate on the causes of the plagues, live a righteous life and hope that God will remove the afflictions. As a role model of the righteous refugee *Raedwel* introduces Abraham, who did not leave his homeland to follow his own desires but to be obedient to God, who called him out of Chaldea and promised him a future in Canaan. The justification of exile is accompanied by a model that exemplifies motivations and behaviors appropriate for Christian refugees. Following Abraham's example is not only justified; as in the work of Cooltuyn, Coornhert praises living as a stranger in the diaspora as an act of obedience to the will of God.

As the examples of Cooltuyn and Coornhert show, Catholics were not the only Christians who had to come to terms with the question of how to respond to persecution. Initially, fleeing to save one's life could also be a controversial issue among Protestants and non-conformists. Going into exile was not univocally glorified at the beginning of the Dutch Reformation, but required justification. While the question of exile as an alternative to martyrdom was more controversially discussed in Catholic circles, Protestants needed to develop a response to the challenge too.

'Exile Theology' and Confessional Identity

In the works of exiled authors such as Cooltuyn, Coornhert and others, the status of the exiled Christian who had fled his homeland to remain loyal to his faith was celebrated and provided Netherlandish refugees with an appropriable image of their own situation as well as a collective identity to which they could relate. The sixteenth-century Netherlandish diaspora was not only an empirical given consisting of a multitude of individual exiles, it was also an imagined community connected by bonds of confession and regional origin as well as friendship and kinship. As Esther Peeren has argued, the lived

15 Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, 'Abrahams Uytgangh,' in: *Het roerspel en de comedies van Coornhert* (ed. Paul van der Meulen), Leiden 1955, p. 268.

conditions of a diaspora are never separable from its representation.[16] Only through developing a collective consciousness of being in exile and fashioning collective diasporic identities do diasporas come into being. Religious exiles from the Netherlands did not perceive their fate as an isolated case but identified with larger groups, whom they did not necessarily know personally but with whom they felt united in religious conviction and often in common political cause.

The fashioning of religious exile identities was not restricted to any specific confessional current: not only Reformed authors but also Catholics, Mennonites and anti-confessional spiritualists mirrored the fate of contemporary refugees with heroes of biblical accounts of dispersion and exile. The question of how and whether the exile experience shaped various forms of the newly emerged confessional currents and how it contributed to new forms of theology has recently been the subject of debate. Scholars working on early modern Calvinism have emphasized the significance of the exile situation for the constitution of a specific form of Reformed faith and worship.[17] According to Heinz Schilling, Calvinist refugees who had to flee their homelands developed a specific kind of 'exile theology' that evolved when Reformed refugee communities tried to maintain their religious identities and distinguish themselves from the natives of their new settlements.[18] Calvinist characteristics such as the emphasis on predestination, strict ecclesiastical discipline and the presbyterial synodal church order were adopted and further developed in exile. When the Reformed Church became the 'public church' of the Dutch Republic, these distinctive characteristics were, at least partially, preserved, and the church was able to maintain its identity as an exclusive group of believers gathering around the communion table as full *lidmaten*, although the services were also frequented by a larger group of *liefhebbers* who did not fall under the discipline of the church.[19]

In his examination of Reformed exile theology, Schilling draws heavily on the ideas of Heiko Oberman, who made a clear distinction between communal and city reformation projects and a Calvinist 'Reformation of the refugees.'[20]

16 Esther Peeren, 'Through the Lens of the Chronotope,' p. 70.

17 Oberman, '*Europa afflicta*: The Reformation of the Refugees'; Oberman, *Two Reformations*, pp. 145ff.; Alastair Duke, 'The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands 1561–1618,' in: Ibid., *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries*, London / New York 2003, p. 269; Schilling, 'Die frühneuzeitliche Konfessionsmigration,' pp. 82ff.

18 Ibid.; Schilling, 'Peregrini und Schiffchen Gottes,' p. 167

19 See: Duke, 'The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism,' pp. 291ff.

20 Oberman, '*Europa afflicta*,' pp. 99ff.; Oberman, *Two Reformations*, pp. 145ff.

Whereas communal and city reformers envisaged an all-embracing church for the whole community and sometimes tried to transform it into a kind of Erasmian *magnum monasterium*, Calvin

> did not understand his own position as that of the *Leutpriester* of Geneva, or the people's priest of the Genevan city-state. He did not receive his calling from the city council, as had been the case in the late medieval *Praedikaturen*. He insisted that he had been called to his ministry directly by God, just as Isaiah to his prophecy, David to his kingship, and Paul to his apostolate. Reading the Scriptures as an exiled refugee in light of his own experience, he addressed his listeners and readers not as citizens of Geneva or any other European region, but rather as uprooted wayfarers who had signed up for the hazardous trek to the eternal city.[21]

According to Oberman, central aspects of Calvin's theology, such as the doctrine of divine predestination, are rooted in the experience of persecution and cannot be understood outside the context of exile.[22] Oberman argues that in pre-modern Europe, being banished and exiled was regarded as divine punishment for those who had fallen into apostasy or were abandoned by God's mercy and providence, such as the wandering Children of Israel after their rejection of Christ, whereas Calvinism brought about a radical reevaluation of the diaspora experience. Wandering through a hostile world was now solid evidence that God had directed his chosen few through the desert to the Promised Land.[23]

To be sure, the focus on particular socio-historical constellations, such as the exile situation of French and Dutch Calvinists or the local structures of southern German towns experiencing a typical 'city reformation,' has contributed much to the understanding of certain confessional cultures and forms of worship that emerged during the sixteenth century. However, Oberman's answer to the question of how these specific historical contexts contributed to the formation of distinct religious and confessional phenotypes has two essential limitations. First, Oberman and Schilling were primarily interested in, and vigorously emphasized, the notion of the religious confession. As Schilling recently wrote, the fundamental distinction between the confessional cultures of continental Lutheranism and Western European Calvinism was the prominent '*peregrinus* mentality' of the latter. By contrast, the experience of exile

21 Oberman, *'Europa afflicta,'* p. 103.

22 Oberman, *Two Reformations*, p. 162.

23 Ibid., p. 83.

was absent from the historical identity of Lutheranism and its religious sociological shape that was rather

> determined by stability and legal security under the protection of the Peace of Augsburg. It was characterized by the continental parochialism of the regional churches, which cared for the spiritual and social welfare of the natives and was inclined to perceive strangers as intruders and troublemakers.[24]

In fact, the experience of exile was by no means exclusively Reformed, and as historians of Central Europe and other regions have recently demonstrated, being exiled and banished could play an important role in the theology of other confessions. Not only Calvinists but also Lutherans, Mennonites and Catholics fashioned themselves as 'the persecuted Children of God' and regarded exile as a creditable mark of 'true Christians.'[25]

A second problem with the notion of an exclusively Reformed exile theology, as defined by Oberman and Schilling, is the lack of clarity about the social as well as the theological *locus* of this phenomenon. When Oberman spoke of the 'Reformation of the refugees,' he did not get far beyond an impressive exegesis of Calvin's works. Building on Oberman's work, Schilling proclaimed the decisive impact of a Reformed exile theology for the constitution of a specifically Dutch form of Calvinism.[26] However, this postulate has not yet been tested by a systematic study of primary sources. It is therefore

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24 Schilling, 'Christliche und jüdische Minderheitengemeinden,' p. 436: '[D]ie politische und religiöse Kultur des deutschen Luthertums [war] von Stabilität, Rechtssicherheit im Schutz des Augsburger Religionsfriedens bestimmt. Sie war charakterisiert vom kontinentalen Parochialismus der Landeskirchen, der sich um die geistige und soziale Wohlfahrt der Landeskinder bemühte und Fremde tendenziell als Eindringlinge und Störenfriede begriff.'

25 On Lutheran migrants, see e.g.: Alexander Schunka, 'Constantia im Martyrium. Zur Exilliteratur des 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Humanismus und Barock,' in: Thomas Kaufmann/Anselm Schubert/Kaspar von Greyerz (eds): *Frühneuzeitliche Konfessionskulturen*, Gütersloh 2008, pp. 175–200; Alexander Schunka, *Gäste, die bleiben*. On Catholic exiles in the Southern Netherlands, see: Janssen, 'Quo vadis?'; Janssen, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee.'

26 Schilling, 'Peregrini und Schiffchen Gottes,' p. 167. See also: Heinz Schilling, 'Religion und Gesellschaft in der calvinistischen Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande. 'Öffentlichkeitskirche' und Säkularisation; Ehe und Hebammenwesen; Presbyterien und politische Partizipation,' in: Franz Petri (ed.), *Kirche und Gesellschaft in deutschen und niederländischen Städten der werdenden Neuzeit*, Cologne / Vienna 1980, p. 214.

still unclear what happened between Calvin's ideas and the concrete form of exile theology in the Netherlands. Even if Oberman's turn to the 'Reformation of the refugees' started as a bold attempt to ground the study of theology in social history, the focus on canonical reformers such as Calvin remained dominant. However, the direct impact of Calvin's ideas on groups and networks of believers is highly questionable.[27] Not only were works such as the *Institutes* available relatively late in the Low Countries and other exile destinations of the Reformed refugees, but assuming primacy of the influence of a theologian such as Calvin above the practical experience of the refugees themselves contradicts Oberman's program of a 'social history of religion.'

In order to reexamine the notion of such an exile theology, I propose to address 'theology' in a broader sense and to conceive of it not as a static system of doctrines but as a historical and context-bound interpretation of human experience in the light of religious faith.[28] Theological reasoning is, of course, never restricted to divines and academics but is a practice belonging to professional theologians and laypeople alike. The sources to be studied are therefore not restricted to academic books and tracts; in order to get a fuller grasp on how the experience of religious exile was articulated in theological terms, we should consider sermons, literary texts, pamphlets and personal writings as well as social practices. By doing so I hope to present a clearer and more contextualized picture of what early modern 'exile theology' was and in which social and religious milieus it was practiced and cultivated. What can be gained by 'zooming out' of theological characteristics of various confessional currents and their canonical heroes is a better explanation of the cultivation of exile identities by adherents of various early modern confessions. As the source material from the Netherlands shows, the fashioning of such identities and theological explanations and justifications did not differ much between Reformed, Mennonite, Libertine or Catholic authors.

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27 On Calvin's position in the Reformed tradition, see: Richard A. Muller, 'Demoting Calvin? The Issue of Calvin and the Reformed Tradition,' in: Amy Nelson Burnett (ed.), *John Calvin, Myth and Reality: Images and Impact of Geneva's Reformer*, Eugene 2011, pp. 3–17.

28 The notion of theology as a practice not limited to academically trained divines has become increasingly important in the field of historical theology during the last twenty years (See e.g.: Angie Pears, *Doing contextual theology*, Abingdon 2010). In the context of this development, Stephen B. Bevans has identified five types of contextual theology. My characterization of 'exile theology' corresponds to what he calls the 'praxis model' (Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology*, Maryknoll 2002, p. 82).

Making Sense of Exile

A crucial challenge for many of the exiles who had left the Netherlands during the religious persecutions was how to interpret their present situation in the context of God's purpose. During the first two waves of migration, the first consisting of Protestants and dissenters from the Netherlands in the 1540s and 1550s and the second taking place during the early Dutch Revolt between 1566 and 1572, exile was usually motivated by the need to escape danger. Open dissent could cost people their lives, so flight was the only way to avoid martyrdom. The desperation imposed by forced peregrination and the threat of insecurity is clearly expressed in early writings by refugees. Some of their works were highly influential and frequently reprinted and, in the case of manuscripts, conserved and treated as commemorative objects.[29] Among those works was Jan Utenhove's *Simplex et fidelis narratio* ('Simple and truthful narration') which became a formative and canonical narrative of the Netherlandish diaspora. The book was not only reprinted more than seven times between 1560 and the early seventeenth century, it was also translated into German and distributed among the Reformed territories of the Empire.[30] Utenhove's work describes the burdensome odyssey of a group of 175 Dutch refugees who had first fled to England but were forced to leave after Mary Tudor's coronation in 1553. During the winter of 1553/54 they sailed along the North Sea coast seeking asylum in German and Danish ports, but were expelled due to the agitation of Lutheran clerics and city councils. The *Simplex et fidelis narratio* stylizes the refugees as steadfast Christians persecuted for the sake of faith, and accuses Lutherans of confessional fanaticism. Until the eighteenth century Utenhove's work remained a cornerstone of Reformed exile narratives in Germany and England and strongly informed stranger congregations' chronicles and sense

29 See for the conservation of manuscripts e.g.: Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn/Jan Reyghersbergh, *Chroniick van Zeelandt, eertijdts beschreven door d'Heer Johan Reygersbergen, nu verbetert, ende vermeerdert door Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn*, Middelburg 1644, p. 169; Clasien Rooze Stouthamer, *De opmaat tot de Opstand. Zeeland en het centraal gezag (1566–1572)*, Hilversum 2009, p. 82.

30 Jan Utenhove, *Simplex et fidelis narratio de institvta ac demvm dissipata Belgarum, aliorumqque peregrinorum in Anglia, ecclesia: & potissimum de susceptis postea illius nomine itineribus, quæque eis in illis euenerunt* Basel 1560. See also: Henning P. Jürgens, 'Die Vertreibung der reformierten Flüchtlingsgemeinden aus London. Jan Utenhoves "Simplex et fidelis narration," ' in: Henning P. Jürgens and Thomas Weller (eds.), *Religion und Mobilität. Zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, Göttingen 2010, pp. 13–40.

of the past.[31] Similarly, an early history of the war in the Netherlands, written by Emmanuel van Meeteren in England, was highly influential in later memory cultures of the diaspora abroad and was still used in eighteenth-century chronicles of stranger churches.[32] Among the more theological and pastoral works on exile, Hieronimus van der Voort's works on flight, war and banishment were most popular a considerable time after his death, and were reprinted several times during the seventeenth century.[33] These works, along with those of Reformed writers such as Jean Taffin, Caspar Cooltuyn, and Ysbrand Balck and Mennonite and spiritualist authors such as Menno Simons and Dirck Coornhert, would shape emerging discourse on exile for decades.

Like Cooltuyn's *Evangeli der Armen*, Van der Voort's *Een schoon profijtelik boeck, ghenaemt den benauden, verjaechden Christen* ('A fair and useful book, called the afflicted and exiled Christian') was intended to serve as a pastoral manual on the question of how believers should deal with affliction and exile. Styled in the form of contemporary popular *rederijkers* poetry, the work is structured as thirteen questions posed by a 'poor afflicted Christian.'[34] The answers to these questions consist exclusively of quotes from the Bible dealing with exile, suffering and war. Though dedicated to the Woerden nobleman Roeland van der Staken, on whose soil Van der Voort and other exiles were allowed to live, the book is explicitly addressed to 'those who are aggrieved, displaced from their homeland and afflicted by depressing thoughts.'[35] The 'scriptural' answers to the question of the afflicted believers point to God's providence

31 In several chronicles of the Frankfurt Reformed congregation, Utenhove's text was included almost in full or quoted and paraphrased extensively. See: Institut für Stadtgeschichte Fankfurt am Main, Deutsch-Reformierte Gemeinde, inv.nr. 148: Mangon, Geschichte der beiden Gemeinden, fol. 45–90, and inv.nr. 149, Chronik der beiden Gemeinden. Abraham Mangon dedicated no fewer than forty-five pages to Utenhove's account. On references to Utenhove's account in seventeenth-century petition letters, see also: Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 199.

32 Emmanuel van Meeteren, *Historie der Nederlandscher ende haerder Na-buren Oorloghen*, The Hague 1623 (The first edition appeared in 1599). Even Lutheran writers used Van Meeteren's history for their accounts of their ancestors' exile past. See: Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 4f.

33 Hieronimus van der Voort, *Een schoon profijtelik boeck, ghenaemt den benauden, verjaechden Christen*, Haarlem 1612.

34 On sixteenth-century *rederijkers* (rhetoricians') poetry and drama in which religious topics were frequently discussed, see: Gary K. Waite, *Reformers on Stage. Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles v, 1515–1556*, Toronto 2000.

35 Van der Voort, *Een schoon profijtelik boeck*, fol. E9v.(Finis): 'Derselffde is nut mijn Boeck te hooren spreken, die daer bedroeft zijn, ut haer vaderlant gheweken, desolaet met ghepeynsen belaeyen.'

and assure them of his guidance and final relief of earthly afflictions. To illustrate God's guidance, Van der Voort ends the book with a brief narration of his own deliverance after he had been accused of heresy under Alba's Council of Troubles. This story is also meant to provide his work with more authenticity; not only had he suffered greatly under the persecuting regime, but God had not forgotten him in his afflictions:

> After my death, you shall hear speak of me,
> for this is my book and no one can doubt it,
> which I have written, having fled
> from Lier in Brabant,
> when the Duke of Alba came there,
> a tyrant in all his deeds,
> with his Egyptian locusts, which devour all the green.
> Though they leave the land bare-branched, they are not sated.
> They harm not only the Christian but every man,
> But from their hands I was saved by God Himself in all His grace,
> on the ninth of July in 1568, He fulfilled His work
> and I could escape by daylight, but unrecognized
> by the guards in front of my house.
> When God intends to intervene,
> no one and nothing can resist.[36]

The hope for a final triumph through God's providence, if not in this life but in the great reward true believers would be granted in heaven, is common in pastoral-theological writings of refugee authors of every confession. In Menno Simons' *Eyne troestelijke van dat lijden, cruyze, cruyze, unde vervolginge der*

36 Ibid., fol. E10r.: Want naer mijn doot, suldy noch hooren spreken,
My dats mijn boeck dwelck niemant en sal weiren
Dwelck ick ghemaect hebbe, zijnde gheweken,
Wt Liere in Brabant, doen daer quam ghestreken
Duck de Alba, tyrannich in al zijn affeiren,
Met de Egiptische Sprinchanen die tgroen verteiren
Ja dlant cael maken, en blijven noch onversadich,
Niet den Christenen alleen, maer elcken schadich,
Wt hare handen tooch my de Heere ghenadich
Alsmen vijfthien hondert achtentsestich dicteerde,
Julij neghen, twas Gods werck ghestadich
Dat ick sdaechs wt mijn cot, deur de wakers passeerde,
Waer God een aenslach drijft noyt yet en facteerde.

heyligen, ('A consoling exhortation of the suffering, cross and persecution of the godly'), the Beatitudes of the Sermon of the Mount (Matthew 5) are applied to the persecuted believers, particularly verses 10 and 11: 'Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'[37] The righteous, Menno explains, had always been persecuted, from Abel to Jesus and his followers. The prophets of the Old Testament were often forced to flee, as were early Christians.[38] Contemporary believers had no reason to think that they would be an exception:

> I hope, dear Brethren, that these examples have made clear to you of which kind the people the godly were and which spirit was in them, namely Christ Jesus, the silent, peaceful, innocent and obedient Lamb of God. And his members were banished, plundered, betrayed, incarcerated, tortured, mutilated, drowned, burned and strangled, without any mercy and from the beginning until this present day.[39]

The world as a hostile place for the godly is a notion shared by pastoral authors of all confessional allegiances who argued that being cast out was the 'natural' fate of believers. According to Doede van Amsweer, a nobleman from Groningen who had converted to Reformed Protestantism while traveling in Germany and had fled his homeland after the Catholic recapturing of the *Ommelanden*, the present state of the Netherlands had to be understood as an affliction brought upon Dutch Protestants by Satan, whom God allowed to test the faith and loyalty of believers, as he had tested Job in the Old Testament.[40]

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37 Menno Simons, *Eyne troestelijke vermaninge van dat lijden, cruyze, unde vervolginge der heyligen, umme dat woort Godes, unde zijne getuichenisse*, s.l. 1554/1555(?), fol. A1r.–A3v.

38 Ibid., fol. B3v.; fol.E4r.

39 Ibid., fol. G3r.: 'Ick verhope weerde Broeders, dat hier in dese aenghetoghene Exempelen [...] bewesen is wattet alle wegen voor eyn Volck geweest is, uth wat Vader se gheboren sijn unde wat Gheyst se gedreven heeft, die Christum Jesum, dat Lyestijcke, Vreedtsamighe, Unschuldige, unde Gehoorsamige Lam Gades [sic], unde sijne heylighe Ledematen van Aenfange heer so unbermhertelijcken hebben uthghestoten, geplundert, belogen, ghevangen, ghepijnicht, afghehouwen, verdroncken, ghebraden, versticket, ummeghebracht unde vermoort tot op desen yeghenwoordigen dach toe.'

40 Doede van Amsweer, *Spieghel der aenvechtinghen des Sathans, unde waere proeve des gheloofs : daer in ons de strijde des vleesches tegen den geest, die alle Christen in tijde van cruyce unde tegenspoet, in sich gevoelen, levendich wort voor oogen ghestelt Proeve des ghelovens. Vande ware salichmaeckende erkentenisse Christi. Ein trouhertige unde droevighe vermaninge an de verstroyde uutgewekene, unde gemeyne ingesetene der Vrieszschen Ommelanden*, Emden 1584.

Doede van Amsweer's work, which he dedicated to his fellow exiles, consisted mainly of a translation of a tract by Hieronymus Savonarola on Psalm 31 that encouraged believers to remain steadfast and not to doubt the rightfulness of their cause. Banishment from one's homeland was Satan's attempt to discourage exiles and tempt them to compromise with ungodly customs of the world. What they needed to do was understand the causes behind their afflictions and persevere to prove their godliness.

Punishing the Wicked—Chastising the Elect

Many of the writings on exile and persecution written by refugees from the Low Countries share a paradoxical tension: on the one hand, exile is increasingly revaluated and praised while, on the other hand, the reason to flight flee is depicted as a means of godly punishment. In 1606, playwright and rhetorician Jacob Duym, who had fled to Leiden after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, published his *Ghedenck-boeck*, a collection of propagandistic plays about the Dutch Revolt in which atrocities of the Spanish enemy are graphically depicted and patriotic Netherlanders of all provinces, who had heroically defended their country, are enthusiastically praised.[41] In one of the plays, *Belegheringhe der stadt Antwerpen*, a confusing ambivalence appears. Antwerp is presented as an allegorical personage, the innocent virgin Antwerpia, who has to suffer under the iniquities of the besiegers. She trusts in God's providence and remains confident and virtuous. Once the city is conquered by the Spanish, the tenor of the play changes radically: while Antwerpia laments her fate, another allegorical personage, *Gods stranghe rechtvaerdicheyt* ('God's severe justice') appears and explains the reason for the fall. God has punished the corrupt city, 'whose sins stink towards heaven.'[42] Antwerpia is transformed from an innocent virgin into an entity deserving punishment.

How can this ambivalence be explained? In the collective memory of the Northern Netherlands, especially in Reformed circles, the fall of the Calvinist cities in the South served as a warning against earthly vanities and the arrogance of the rich. The theme of the downfall of the proud and luxurious Flemish and Brabantine merchant towns was often addressed in Reformed

41 Jacob Duym, *Een ghedenck-boeck, het welck ons leert aen al het quaet en den grooten moetwil van de Spaingnaerden en haren aenhanck ons aen-ghedaen te ghedencken. Ende de groote liefde ende trou vande Princen uyt den huyse van Nassau, aen ons betoont, eeuwelick te onthouden*, Leiden, 1606.

42 Jacob Duym, *Belegheringhe der stadt Antwerpen*, in: *Ghedenck-boeck*, fol. G2r.

sermons. During the Twelve Years' Truce, Reformed minister Jacobus Trigland warned his Haarlem congregation not to forget the terrible example of Antwerp, which had been punished for its arrogance and luxuriousness.[43] In a sermon on Exodus 8:1–20 delivered in the late 1580s by Sluis minister and former Carthusian monk Wilhelmus Commantius, the punishment suffered by the southern cities was compared to the fate of the seven churches in Asia from the Book of Revelation and to their downfall under the Turks hundreds of years later. The ten plagues imposed on Egypt served as an example of God's intervention in the plans of the disobedient, who resembled the people of the fallen southern cities.[44] At the time the sermon was preached, the Reformed congregation in Sluis consisted mostly of refugees from the 'punished towns' in the South.[45] Except for Commantius of Roermond and Johannes Arcerius of Noordhorn, the congregation's ministers between 1578 and 1587 were all Flemings and Brabanders.[46] To understand why the fall of Antwerp and other southern cities was regarded as divine punishment while Reformed refugees at the same time presented themselves as the new children of Israel, we must understand that a typical feature of sixteenth-century exile theology in the Netherlands was the notion of the twofold nature of God's punishment. This notion can also be found in the works of Calvin where he explains why the elect were faced with persecution and exile. For Calvin, the afflictions Christians had to endure were meant to test their faith and confidence in God; as Abraham's obedience had been tested by the command to sacrifice Isaac, so was the obedience of his elect tested from time to time. By being afflicted and persecuted they were cleansed, 'just as gold is tried in a furnace of fire.'[47] By recalling the famous verses from Proverbs 3:11, Calvin presents earthly tribulations as signs of God's love towards his elect: 'For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth; even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.' By chastising believers, God purifies them and thus saves them from damnation, which is prepared only for the wicked.[48] Having been subjected to God's chastisement, the elect are consoled by the knowledge of the intention behind it:

43 A. Th. Van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt*, Assen 1974, p. 222.

44 A. Bauwens / D. van der Bauwhede, *Acta van de kerkeraad van de Nederduits Gereformeerde Gemeente te Sluis 1578–1587*, Torhout 1986, p. 285.

45 Ibid., p. 21.

46 Ibid., pp. 33–39.

47 Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, p. 498.

48 Ibid., p. 499. Calvin refers to 1 Corinthians 11:32 here.

> Poverty, indeed considered in itself, is misery; so are exile, contempt, imprisonment, ignominy: in fine, death itself is the last of all calamities. But when the favour of God breathes upon us, there is none of these things which may not turn out to our happiness.[49]

The twofold nature of divine punishment was a recurring theme in theological treatises and sermons among Dutch exiles. In the *Evangeli der Armen*, Cooltuyn asserts that all afflictions occur solely to benefit true believers. The work is composed as a dialogue between the characters Theophilus and Dorothea, who reflect on the question of God's will in human suffering and affliction. The Reformed Theophilus teaches the sick Dorothea basic Protestant doctrines, and they discuss the question of why God lets His children be persecuted. In his explanation and justification of human suffering, Cooltuyn draws on the fundamental distinction between 'natural' and 'godly' men. While natural men seek only earthly joys and pleasures, they forget about God and become more and more removed from his will and presence. To keep the believers close to him, God chastises them and lets them suffer lest they become too focused on the world and its concerns.[50] For the children of God, suffering does not mean only chastisement but also sanctification; in their afflictions they can grow in godliness and are constantly reminded that their home is not in this world but in their eternal fatherland. Earthly afflictions such as war, persecution and exile serve only to draw believers closer to God.

In his devotional work *De marques des enfants de Dieu* ('The marks of the children of God'), Walloon Reformed preacher Jean Taffin developed the notion of a twofold judgment in an elaborate theological scheme.[51] To him, earthly tribulation is not only a necessary evil that belongs to the earthly life of every Christian but becomes the distinguishable 'mark of the children of God.' At first sight, the experience of persecution would make the believers doubt God's benevolence towards them:

> What appearance is there (saith the flesh) that wee are the children of God? Our goods are violently taken from us, our possessions are confiscate, and our offices and Estates are taken away. We are driven out of our

49 Ibid., p. 500.

50 Cooltuyn, *Dat Evangelie der Armen*, pp. 271ff.

51 I quote from the English translation by Anne Prowse: Jean Taffin, *Of the markes of the children of God and of their comforts in afflictions. To the faithfull of the Low Countrie. By Iohn Taffin. Ouerseene againe and augmented by the author, and translated out of French by Anne Prowse*, London 1590.

> countrey, yea from countrey to countrey like vagabonds: we are hated of mother and father, and of our own kinsfolke and friends: we are drawne and kept in prison [...]: To be short, we see nothing but the wrath and the curse of God upon us.[52]

In fact, Taffin elaborates, the experience of tribulations in the world is not a result of 'the wrath and the curse of God' but a sign of his fatherly love. Only the reprobate are struck by God's anger—for them, the horrors of this world are indeed meant as punishment, as they serve the elect as a purifying chastisement. As an example of those for whom persecution and exile are a sure sign of God's judgment, he mentions the Calvinist apostate Jean Haren: God 'hath set him forth for an example of his judgments, that those that make profession of Religion, and chiefly the Ministers of the word, may study more and more to walke with a good conscience to keepe themselves in their vocation [and] to renounce the passions of the flesh.'[53]

The elect, on the contrary, are not punished, but benefit from tribulations:

> This which thou lamentest, is thy medicine, and not thy punishment. As in a house where there are many children, the rod is necessary: and as in a Citie subject to divers diseases, and where there is an evil ayre, Physicians are needfull: so in the house of God, where there are many children inclined to evill, the rod is many times more necessary than bread.[54]

The believers should regard persecution and affliction as beneficial 'medicine' provided by God:

> And indeed, behold the difference betweene a mad man, and one that is sicke of a corporal disease; the mad man is angry with the Physician, chaseth him away & throweth away the medicine; but the other sendeth for a Physician, taketh the drinke at his hand, thanketh him, yea and giveth him a reward. [...] let us not bee like mad men rejecting the medicine, let us give him thankes and blesse him, after the example of *Iob*.[55]

Reformed minister Ysbrand Balck, who preached the two last sermons before Reformed worship was made illegal, had to leave Antwerp twice,

52 Ibid., p. 136.
53 Ibid., p. 125.
54 Ibid., pp. 186f.
55 Ibid., p. 188.

once in 1567 and then again in 1585. Balck argued in a vein similar to that pursued by Taffin; in both his farewell sermons, he chose to preach on the parable of the small mustard seed (Mark 4:30). Having been planted in circumstances of hardship and suffering, the endurance of the church would eventually be rewarded by becoming a majestic tree. Referring to Hebrews 12:6–8, he tried to show that it was not only necessary for true believers to be chastised by God but that chastisement was a sign that they were not 'spiritual bastards' but the father's true beloved sons.[56] Whereas the reprobate expect the elect to despair, the elect are in fact consoled through the knowledge of their adoption by God; through this knowledge, 'we do not become desperate nonwithstanding all the [...] persecution, banishment and exiling, strangling, killing and murdering [...].'[57]

In his introduction to the printed edition of the sermon from 1590, Balck makes clear that the fall of the town should be regarded as a warning from God himself. God had not given up on the inhabitants of Antwerp, and his intervention had been fruitful indeed: even the 'coddled and finely dressed damsels,' whom Balck misogynisticly blamed for having provoked the fall with their lax morals, understood the warning and were saved from eternal damnation.[58] Chastising the elect was necessary for their salvation and the perseverance of their faith and godly life. Like Taffin and Balck, rhetorician Hieronimus van der Voort, who had fled his hometown Lier for Holland, underlined the necessity of chastisement for true believers:

> Everything that happens, be it persecution, be it prosperity or poverty,
> Be it word or fire, comfort or discomfort, honor or humiliation,
> It all only serves to benefit you, otherwise it would be prevented.
> *Because the rod is used to bring forth both knowledge and virtue*.[59]

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56 Ysbrand Balck, *Het cleyn mostert-zaet, dat is, de laetste predicatie a. 1567. den 9 Aprilis, ende wederom, die naest-laetste predicatie den 18. Aug. a. 1585. binnen Antwerpen*, Amsterdam 1590, p. 144. See on Balck's repeated relocation during the Dutch Revolt: Timothy Fehler, 'Conflict and Compromise in International Calvinism: Ysbrand Trabius Balck's Pastoral Mediations in Exile and Beyond,' in: *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, vol.10, 3 / 2008, pp. 291–313; Frank van der Pol, *Mosterdzaad in ballingschap. Over christelijke identiteit en geloofsrepressie in de Nederlanden*, Kampen 2007.

57 Ibid., p. 145.

58 Ibid., *Voorreden aende verstroyde Ghemeynte van Antwerpen*, IX.

59 Hieronimus van der Voort, *Een schoon profijtelik boeck, ghenaemt den benauden, verjaechden Christen*, Haarlem 1612 (reprint), fol. E9r.:

> Wat u nut is, tsy vervolch, rijcdom oft armoede,
> Sweert oft vier, gemac oft ongemac, smaet oft eere,

Similarly, Menno and Coornhert saw the earthly tribulations of exile as a learning process: suffering was only meant to keep the godly oriented towards their master.[60] On the way to their final destination they needed to be chastised in order to remain pure:

> This is how my God works:
> He tests whom He loves the most.
> He takes away knife and fire
> and every harmful thing from his children
> and gives them his cross-book, so they can learn patience.[61]

Exile and Persecution as the Marks of God's True Children

Perhaps the most prominent aspect of exile theologies during the Dutch Revolt was the emphasis on exile and persecution as marks of true Christian identity. This notion was not something exclusively Reformed; it had been articulated earlier by Luther and others. It is telling that it was not Calvin or A Lasco but the territorial reformer of Wittenberg who regarded persecution and tribulation as marks of the true church.[62] Taffin encouraged the 'faithfull of the Low Countrie' to be confident in divine providence by pointing to 'the testimonies of your Adoption, and the full assurance of the certaintie of it.'[63] As he assured his readers, afflictions in this world 'have beene foretold, and therefore they ought to confirme us in the assurance of our adoption.'[64]

Taffin's intention was to prevent persecution and exile from making his persecuted coreligionists doubt God's benevolence towards them and from interpreting suffering and affliction as a sign of his wrath, as had been the case with numerous Huguenots after the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day. To refute

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> Den gheschiet niet ten gheschiet u ten goede,
> *Want tot kennis en deucht, ghebruyctmen de roede.*

60 Menno Simons, *Eyne troestelijke vermaninge van dat lijden, cruyze, unde vervolginge der heyligen*, fol. O1v.ff.

61 Coornhert, *Abrahams Uytgangh*, p. 302:

> So gaet het oock te wercke met mynen Gode.
> Die oeffent meest dien hy die meeste liefde draecht
> Hy neemt sijn Kinders vuyr en mes dat hun mach deren,
> Ende gheeft hem 't kruys-boeck om gedult te leeren.

62 See: Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, Oxford 1991, p. 147.

63 Taffin, *Of the markes of the children of God*, preface *To the faithfull of the Low Countrie*, fol. A7r.

64 Ibid., p. 140.

their doubts and to encourage them in their faith, he points to earlier persecutions, like those of the first Christians:

> [I]f the most excellent servants and children of God have always beene most afflicted, Afflictions ought not to make us doubt of our adoption and salvation, except wee will call in doubt the salvation and felicitie of those, whom we confesse to be very blessed children of God: Especially, if affliction doe serve greatly to pull our hearts from the earth, and to lift them up into heaven, to purifie our faith as gold in the fire, and to fashion us into a true obedience of God.[65]

The notion of the continuity of Christian suffering in this world became a strong argument to explain the present situation. Ysbrand Balck listed the miseries of the believers of the Old Covenant: Joseph was brought as a slave to Egypt, Moses found himself wayfaring through an endless desert and David had been an exile for ten years. The first church was severely persecuted for three hundred years, and in Balck's time not only did Netherlandish believers have to flee their homes, Swiss, English, Scottish and French Christians were also persecuted by the 'wicked'.[66] Menno Simons also saw the history of the church and the believers of the Old Covenant as marked by hostility from the ungodly world.[67] The elect were recognizable by inverting the values of their environment and 'searching the wisdom which is eternal and therefore they look like fools to the world.'[68]

For Balck and Taffin as well as Menno and Coornhert, exile acquired the character of an existential metaphor for Christian life. Addressing the question of the assurance of salvation of individual believers, Taffin delineates the human condition after the fall of Adam and Eve as a situation of exile:

> If there were two or three hundred inhabitants of some town banished for some offence, and after a generall pardon should be published, that all the banished of such a towne should have free liberty to returne thither,

65 Ibid., pp. 138f.

66 Balck, *Het cleyn mostert-zaet*, pp. 50ff.

67 Menno Simons, *Eyne troestelijke vermaninge van dat lijden, cruyze, unde vervolginge der heyligen*, fol.: Biv.: 'Ja, van deze aengheteykende Bangheyt, Druck, Droeffenisse, elende, bannen, slagen, scelden, belieghen, verraden, vangen, beroven, smadelijcke doot unde Cruyce der Heiligen avervloeyet [sic] die gansse Schrift beide mit Vermaningen unde ooc mit exempelen unde gheschiedenissen an allen orden.'

68 Ibid., fol. L3v.: 'Se soecken de wijsheyt de eeuwich is unde daerumme moeten ze hier aller werlt narren zijn.'

> with all assurance to enter againe upon all their goods and honours: suppose thou wert one of those banished, and that he that hath given the pardon were a faithfull and true Prince: wouldest thou not believe, that thou wert comprehended in the pardon [...]? Now, wee have beene banished from the kingdome of heaven by the transgression of *Adam*. Iesus Christ dying for these banished persons, causeth a generall pardon to bee published by the preaching of the Gospell, with permission, yea with commandement to returne into heaven.[69]

The exile situation is freed here from its concrete historical actuality and presented as the spiritual *conditio humana*. Those who follow the call to return to the 'kingdom of heaven' are still part of estranged humanity, but have become conscious of their situation and do not regard themselves as inhabitants of this world but rather as homeless travelers on the way to eternity. Exile as a religious metaphor for the present state of the world was applied even to Christ himself. In 1560, the consistory of the Dutch Reformed stranger congregation in London wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth in which they identified Christ with the mass of persecuted believers. As they stated, he 'now an exile in his members' and lived with his followers in a state of homelessness until all things were restored and the believers were gathered in their father's house.[70]

Exile as a metaphor for Christian life did not always have confessionalist implications. In the works of Coornhert, who resented confessional strife and antagonism, the *verstrooying* ('dispersion') of true Christians refers not only to violent persecution and expulsion but also to the contemporary situation of confessional division. As a spiritualist, he felt that the church had been shattered and divided between various antagonizing confessions; none of the institutional churches could claim to be the true church. The state of true believers, who were divided along confessional lines, was one of isolation and dispersion. In his work *Ghelove ende wandel der verstroyde ende eenzame Christenen* ('Faith and conduct of the dispersed and solitary Christians'), which consists of short theological commonplaces supported by extensive scriptural quotes, he distinguishes visible institutional churches from the spiritual body of Christ.[71] Those who belonged to Christ were free from church organizations and were a minority among the hard-hearted masses who subscribed to one of

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69 Taffin, *Of the markes of the children of God*, pp. 53f.

70 Jan Hendrik Hessels, *Ecclesiae londino-batavae archivum, vol. 2, London 1887, p. 125. On the motive of Christ as an exile in Calvin's works, see:* Oberman, 'John Calvin. The mystery of his impact,' in: *John Calvin and the Reformation of the Refugees*, p. 64.

71 D. V. Coornhert, *Ghelove ende wandel der verstroyde ende eenzame Christenen*, Gouda 1590.

the churches. They were exiles and strangers; the visible church was not their home, and they longed to be united in Christ in the future. Sixteenth-century 'exile theology' could thus have implications fundamentally different from and opposed to the confessional Calvinist discourse in which early modern exile religiosity has often been located by modern historians. Discourses of exile were omnipresent in the early modern Netherlandish religious landscape, and their uses could widely differ. The meanings of the exile metaphor were multifaceted; while they overlapped in some aspects, they could also oppose and contradict each other.

Exile as God's Command

Such a topical transfer from social and political reality to theological discourse was not rare, and would shape the discourse on exile for a long time to come. Going into exile often meant sealing a religious choice, and was addressed as such. When the former priest Jean Baquesne from Normandy publicly renounced his old faith and converted to Calvinism in the Walloon Church in Middelburg, he addressed his spiritual development in terms of confessional exile:

> Because it is Babylon, of which the heavenly voice commands us to depart, saying: Come out of her, my people, that you not partake in her sins, and that you not receive of her plagues. Therefore I have departed from my birthplace and my parents and relatives and have joined the true children of God (being obedient to God's commandment and following the example of the great patriarch Abraham, whom God commanded to leave behind his homeland and his kinfolks and to move out of his father's house to seek the land God had promised him). I have left behind impure popery, the whore of Babylon and her evil pits. I have eluded the devil's power, the veneration of the idols and the home of the Anti-Christ, by which I mean the Roman Church, which is concealed in falsehood, and now I throw myself into the bosom of the True Church.[72]

72 Jean Baquesne, *Bekeeringhe ende wederroepinge des pavsdoms, openbaerlick ghedaen inde Francoysche Kercke der Stadt Middelburgh*, Middelburg 1612, fol. A3v.: '[…] want tis het Babel, uyt welcke de hemelsche stemme ons beveelt te vertrekken,segghende: Gaet uyt van haer mijn volck, opdat ghy haerer sonden niet deelachtich en wordt, ende haer plagen en ontfangt. Daarom is't dat ick (Godts gebodt onderdanich zijnde, volgende d'exempel des grooten Patriarchs Abrahams, den welcken de Heere beval uyt sijn landt ende

While Baquesne's equation of conversion with exile seems rather metaphorical, conversion did in fact mean not only a change of religious and ideological mindset but also of physical and social space for masses of early modern Europeans. The imagery of leaving Babylon or Ur is used in many of the writings of Protestant exiles.[73] Jacob Fokkens' pamphlet that urged Protestants to flee the Catholic 'city of sins' and join the true Christian Church, first published in 1635, was reprinted until the late seventeenth century.[74]

In the opposite confessional camp, Catholics called on their undecided fellow believers not to compromise with the rebels, and employed the same language. Johannes Costerius, a priest in Oudenaarde, addressed Catholics in the so-called Calvinist Republics in Flanders and Brabant and used the same Bible verse as Jean Baquesne and Fokkens in his conversion testimony: 'Come out of her, my people, that you not partake in her sins, and that you not receive of her plagues. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God has remembered her iniquities' (Revelation 18: 5). His *Institutio necessaria de exitu Aegypti et fuga Babylonis* is presented as a plea for exile and urges Catholics in rebel towns to join their exiled brothers in Cologne or Douai.[75]

Exile was increasingly propagated as a religious necessity in various confessional camps. Both Catholics and dissenters urged their coreligionists to remain loyal to their faith and leave their hometowns if they were ruled by 'heretics' or 'idolators.' In the early seventeenth century, Calvin's tract against the Nicodemites was translated into Dutch and spread among the remaining Protestants in the southern territories. His work was included in

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maechschap te gaan, en sijns Vaders huys te verlaten, ende te trekken int landt dat hy hem wijzen soude) oock vertrokken ben uyt de plaetse mijnder gheboorten ende hebbe mijn Ouders ende vrienden naer den vleesche verlaten, ende hebbe my comen voeghen by de de ware kinderen Gods. Ick hebbe verlaeten 't onreyne Pausdom, de hoere van Babel, ende hare fenijnighe putten, ende hebbe my ontrocken uyt des duyvels macht, uyt 'd aenroepinghe der Afgoden, uyt de wooninghe des Antichrists: Ick meene de Roomsche Kercke die vermomt is is met gheveynstheyt, opdat ick my mocht werpen in de schoot der waerachtighe kercke.'

73 See the examples of Cooltuyn, Coornhert, De Koningh, Marnix and other authors discussed in this chapter.

74 Jacob Fokkens, *Fuga e Babylone, dat is: een vermaeninghe om uyt het Roomsche Babel te gaen, ofte een meditatie over de woorden der Openbaringe Johannis, int XVIII. cap. IV.*, Delft 1635. The last known edition is: *Fuga e Babylone, dat is, Vlucht uyt Babel: of Geestelyke bedenking over Apoc. 18. vers 6.: tot waerschuwingh van alle roomsch-gesinden*, Gorinchem 1679.

75 Johannes Costerius, *Institutio necessaria de exitu Aegypti et fuga Babylonis id est de egressu Catholicorum et civitatibus haeretoricorum Iuramentis & Edictis, varioque; inevitabili contagio pollutis*, Douai 1580. See also: Janssen, 'Quo vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight'; Janssen, 'The Counter Reformation of the Refugee.'

an anonymous pamphlet that urged Protestants from the southern provinces to migrate in order to avoid contamination by the ungodly religious practices of their neighbors.[76] Philips of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde, who had left his southern homeland for Holland, addressed his fellow Southerners, who thought that they could be steadfast enough to stay home and remain Protestants. In his epistle *Trouwe vermaninge aende christelicke gemeynten van Brabant, Vlanderen, Henegou, ende ander omliggende landen* ('Faithful exhortation to Christian congregations of Brabant, Flanders, Henegouwen and other surrounding areas') he even depicted the purges of Protestants after 1585 as works of God, who wanted to lead his elect out of Egypt and Babylon. For Marnix, going into exile was almost a religious imperative. He warned Reformed believers not to act against God's will:

> Do not provoke and enrage the Eternal God only for the sake of temporal welfare, but follow the calling of the Lord with an alert and obedient heart and without looking back, when he wants to call you with Abraham from Ur in Chaldea and with Lot from Sodom and Gomorra.[77]

The purges in the South were God's way of leading the faithful away from the 'fleshpots of Egypt'; in the diaspora they would be free to practice their faith according to his commandments. To Marnix, the exile question was of such enormous importance that he accused all those who stayed behind of forsaking their faith: he who loved his parents or children more than Christ was not worthy of the appellation of Christian, and staying among the ungodly was hardly better than participating directly in idolatry.[78]

The story of Abraham, who had been commanded to leave the Promised Land, became immensely popular in the emerging diasporic culture, and the biblical patriarch was celebrated as an exemplary role model. What made the story so attractive to discourses of the Netherlandish diaspora was the possibility of comparing it to the current situation. Not only had Abraham left his homeland and all his social ties to head into the unknown, his decision

76 *Tractaet vande gheveynstheyt ofte Vermaninghe aen alle Brabandtsche, Vlaemsche, ende andere natien, die onder den papisten woonachtigh zijn*, Delft 1609.

77 Philips of Marnix, *Trouwe vermaninge aende christelicke gemeynten van Brabant, Vlanderen, Henegou, ende ander omliggende landen*, in: *Godsdienstige en kerkelijke geschriften*, ed. J. J. Toorenenbergen, The Hague 1871–1891, vol. 1, p. 530: 'Ende wilt en wilt ten opziene vande tijdelijcke sorchvuldicheyt den eeuwigen God niet tergen ende vertoornigen, maer volgt vele eer de beroepinge des Heeren nae met een wacker ende gewilligch herte sondr achterdencken, soo wanneer hy u met Abraham uyt het Ur der Chaldeën, ende met Loth uyt Sodoma ende Gomorra wil roepen.'

78 Ibid., p. 519

had also marked an inner conversion: he submitted himself to God's will and cut the bonds of idolatrous practices he was accustomed to. In Coornhert's play, Abraham is contrasted with other kinds of migrants who seek only their earthly fortune and are admonished by the authoritative voice in the play. Abraham, however, is only acting on command:

> Therefore I will quickly and humbly
> obey my Lord's command, and leave behind
> my country and all my kin,
> and move out of my father's house,
> heading for a strange land, which the Lord will show me.
> He, who follows God, shall live with Him everywhere.[79]

In a biblical play on Hagar, Abraham's maidservant, published in 1615 by Abraham de Koningh, himself a refugee from Antwerp in Amsterdam, the same aspect of Abraham is portrayed:

> Now I forsake myself, my flesh, my goods and comfort,
> my friends and fatherland and all my kin
> for the sake of obedience to God,
> who is pleased by it more than by sacrifices,
> and worship Him with all my soul.
> Idolatrous fatherland! Spellbound Chaldeans![80]

Refugees like Coornhert, De Koningh and others staged Abraham as a spiritual hero *and* as a migrant. By spiritualizing his choice for exile he could serve as an example for all believers, not only those who had left their homelands.

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79 Coornhert, *Abrahams Uytganck*, p. 273:
> Daeromme wil ick nu oock met spoedicheyt snel,
> Onderdanigh volbrenghen mijns Heeren bevel,
> Ende gaen uyt myn landt, uyt alle myn maghen,
> En uyt mijn Vaders Huys, omme te beiaghen
> Een vreemt Landt, dat my die Heere sal thoonen.
> Die Godt volcht, Godt sal over al by hem woonen.

80 Abraham de Koningh, *Hagars vluchte*, Amsterdam 1615, p. 83:
> 'K ontsteel nu, als mijn selfs, eer lichaems goed'r end'rust,
> Geboort'vriendt, Vaderlandt end'al mijn bloedts na-magen,
> Uijt g'hoorsaemheijt, die Godt, meer als 't vet offer, lust,
> Met een siel-grage dienst, devotich, op te dragen.
> Afgodisch Vaderlandt! Betooverde Chaldeen!

Coornhert exhorts believers to follow Abraham's example and join in his spiritual pilgrimage:

> Blessed he who with his heart and mind
> flees all earthly lust
> and always rushes heavenward,
> who travels through this world as if on pilgrimage
> and faithfully desires only the Lord as heritage.[81]

I
Abram Dei mandato paruit, tulit Sarai Uxorem, et Lot filium fratris sui, vniuersamq; substantiam, et animas quas fecerant in Haran, Egressus Profectus Ingressus est. GEN. 12.
B. Quetre Uents

FIGURE 1 *Hans Bol*, Abraham op weg naar Kanaän, *Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*.[82]

81 Coornhert, *Abrahams Uytganck*, p. 315:
Wel hem die so met hert, zin en gemoed,
Van d'aardsche lusten spoedt
Ten Hemel waert altyd,
Die als een gast ter wereld Pelgrimeert,
Geloovigh vast den Heer tot erf begeert.

82 Hans Bol was also a migrant from the Southern Netherlands. After living in Heidelberg in the 1560s, he moved back to his hometown Mechelen, but fled to Antwerp in 1572. In 1586

In the emerging imagination of the diaspora, exile and migration gained increasing religious prestige. Migration's connotations of pilgrimage and asceticism often referred back to medieval discourses on monasticism. In many circles, having been in exile became such a powerful recommendation that even one's enemies were ready to acknowledge this sacrifice. While Menno Simons distanced himself from the early Anabaptists in Munster, he depicted them as cruel fanatics without any understanding of the biblical message; however, he still acknowledged that they must have been earnest, and believed that their course was just since they had been willing to go into exile, to 'leave behind their houses and homes, their goods and lands, their fathers, mothers, wives, children and even their own lives.'[83]

At Home in the Diaspora

During the early Dutch Revolt, many refugees in southern Calvinist cities in the early 1580s and in Holland after 1572 were convinced that the times of exile lay behind them and that they could look back from a safe distance. In 1582, Antwerp minister and former exile Gaspar van der Heyden dedicated a treatise on the sacrament of Baptism to the magistrate and described the past from the triumphant perspective of having persevered in times of hardship:

> I have ventured to dedicate his aforementioned tract on the Holy Baptism to Your Honorable Lordships, whom God has installed as the Lords and providers of his Church and the regents of this republic, not only because you are so learned and able to judge what God's Word teaches on this matter, but also because the Lord has called me to the service of the Holy Gospel in this town and has appointed and gathered Himself a congregation through my humble talents. I have nourished this congregation night and day for three years, until I was forced to flee the town and forsake all my possessions in order to save my life. How much the congregation had

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he left Antwerp for Amsterdam where he died in 1593 (See: Hans Bol, in: NNWB, vol. 8, p. 168.)

83 Menno Simons, *Een schoone ende profitelijcke vermanende ende bestraffende redene aen die overheyt, gheleerde, ende ghemeyn volck, aen die verdorven secten, ende aen die ghene die om des Heeren waerheyt daghelijcx vervolghinghe lijden moeten. Noch een troostelijc vermaen tot de bruyt Jesu Christi*, Antwerpen 1552(?), fol.L3v.: '[…] ende daer voor hebben si verlaten huys, hof, lant, sant [sic], vader, moeder, wijf, kindt, en ooc haer eygen leven, …'

> to suffer in the meantime: on the one hand, because the persecutions and, on the other, because of the hostilities of all kinds of sects and heresies. Nevertheless the Lord has always protected and maintained it, so that it could remain undefeated and, as it pleased him, proclaim Jesus Christ, his son, as King, while Satan's dominion was scattered in many pieces.[84]

Of course, exile was not yet over for Van der Heyden and many of his coreligionists in Antwerp. In 1585 Van der Heyden again left for Germany and preached to the same congregation in Frankenthal that he had served until 1574. Constantly migrating, he also served the congregations of Antwerp, Emden, Frankfurt, Frankenthal and Middelburg. His colleague Ysbrand Balck shared this fate. In Antwerp, he delivered the same farewell sermon twice, once when he was forced to leave in 1567 and again in 1585. In his foreword to the printed edition of 1590 he portrayed his entire life in terms of exile: since the early days of his conversion from Catholicism he had not had a permanent home and was constantly traveling among various Calvinist exile towns. For many, the topos of the ever-wandering pilgrim was more than mere imagination; many Reformed refugees indeed moved back and forth between Antwerp, Emden, London and Holland. Along the translocal networks of their faith, they lived in a diasporic space that connected the safe havens of Calvinism in the North Sea, the Rhine region and the Baltic.

Daniel Rogers, diplomat of the English Crown and son of an Antwerp mother and an English father, stated in 1578 that those who rejected

84 Gaspar van der Heyden, *Cort ende claer bewijs vanden Heyligen Doop*, Antwerpen 1582, fol. A2: 'Dit voors. Tractaet vanden H. Doop heb ick my verstout U.E. toe te schrijven, dien Godt als Voedster-heeren syner kercken, ende tot Regeerders deser Republijcken gestelt heeft, niet alleen omdat U.E. als gheleerde ende verstandige in Godes woort connen oordeelen wat vander saken is, maer ooc dewyle my de Heere van omtrent over 30 Jaren in deser stadt, totten dienst synes H. Evangelij beroepen ende door myne geringen gaven hem een ghemeynte versamelt heeft, die ick met vele tranen, arbeyts, perijckels ende sorghen, dry Jaren lanc dach en nacht opgevoestert hebbe, tot dat ick eyndelijck, ghelijc vander doot verlost wert, ende met verlies myner goederen de selve moeste verlaten, maer hoe veel aenstonts die daerentusschen gheleden heeft, ter eende syden, door de vervolghinge, ter ander syden door menigherley secten ende ketteryen, so heeftse nochtans de Heere doorgaens beschermt, ende ghehandhaeft, datse onverwinnelijck ghebleven is, tot dat het hem belieft heeft, synen sone Jesum Christum openbaerlijck tot ener Coninck te doen wtcondigen, Satan's rijck in velen deelen verstoort hebbende.'

Catholicism had become 'strangers in their own country.'[85] In his ode on the exile town of Frankenthal that had been granted to Netherlandish refugees by Frederick III, count of the Palatine, Rogers praises the town as a place where Netherlandishness was cultivated outside the Low Countries and where strangers could find a better home: 'Despite his harsh fate, every exile, who is able to preserve his homeland in his place of refuge, can count himself fortunate.'[86] According to Rogers, the refugees preserved their Netherlandish customs, style of clothing and food, simply transferring their home into another geographical region. Although their home in the Low Countries was vanishing, Frankenthal allowed them to rise to new glory and its inhabitants were planted like trees from foreign coasts into new and even more fertile soil.[87] Netherlandishness had become detached from geography and transformed into a cultural and religious identity that could take shape in the diaspora.

Many dissenters who had not yet gone into exile developed a strong consciousness of belonging to the diaspora. They felt that they had become 'strangers in their own country,' as Rogers put it. Around 1575 the Antwerp regent and merchant Peter van Panhuys commissioned a painting by Maarten de Vos that depicted his entire family, including their wider network of friends, as ancient Israelites on their way from Egypt to the Promised Land. The core of the family, Peter van Panhuys, Gillis Hooftman and their wives and children, still lived in Antwerp, but others, such as Johan Radermacher and his wife, a niece of Gillis Hooftman, and Lucas d' Heere, who had fled Antwerp due to his religious convictions, were living in England or Germany by 1575.[88] Even though many of the people portrayed in the painting were not present at the same time and place, they were united in the imagined space of the diaspora.

For the Van Panhuys and Hooftman families, exile did not become a reality until after the recapturing of their hometown in 1585; however, they partook in the culture of the diaspora much earlier and, given their dissenting religious views and practices, it was realistic for them to be prepared for exile. Identification with the exodus narrative remained strong in the Van Panhuys

85 Thea Vignau-Wilberg, 'Dichter, Denker, Diplomaten—Daniel Rogers' Ode auf Frankenthal aus dem Jahr 1578', in: Edgar J. Hürkey, *Kommerz, Glaubenskampf—Frankenthal um 1600. Frankenthal 1995*, p. 52.

86 Ibid.: Foelix sorte suam, saeva quae siti, obtinet exul
Sede peregrinam patria cuncta colens.

87 Ibid.: Non aliter quam quae persis venit arbor ab orbis
Translata floret fit meliorque suo.

88 J. W. Zondervan, 'Het Panhuys-paneel van het Mauritshuis. Beeld van een snel vervlogen droom,' in: *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, vol. 36 (1982), p. 102.

ALS MOYSI DEN TWEEDENMAAL DIE TAFELEN DES WEETS VAN DEN HEERE OP DEN BERCH SYNAI ONTFANGEN
HADDE IS NEDERGHECOMEN EN HEEFT GHEMERCT ISRAEL VERGADERET
DE TABERNAKEL VAN DE HEERE BEVOLEN HADDE MOYSI TE DOEN
DE HEERT HAER DIE GHEBODEN DES HEEREN VOER GHEBOXEN OF DAT AY MAERS AOVDEN ALLEN SIERAETEN

FIGURE 2 *Maarten de Vos*, Mozes toont de tafelen der Wet, *Catharijneconvent Utrecht*(*Item on loan from Mauritshuis, The Hague*).

circle. When Peter van Panhuys died shortly after having left Antwerp to travel via Amsterdam to his children in Germany, Johan Radermacher wrote the text for his epitaph and portrayed his old friend as a pilgrim on earth:

> I've carried my city's heavy burden
> in many honest and honorable functions:
> as bailiff, custodian, juryman and treasurer,
> I have served in Antwerp I came here after a grave siege.
> I died here as a pilgrim, three days after my wife
> and now we lie lost in the dust of the earth.
> No earthly goods, nor friends, nor doctors
> could delay the hour of death.
> If Christ had not payed for us, we'd have become ashes in hell.
> Therefore love God, avoid sin and the world's illusions
> 'cause everything that shines and twinkles,
> decays like dust and smoke.[89]

89 Album Joannis Rotarii, fol. 169r.:
Stadts lasten swaer ick droech; tis eerlyck alst wel sticht;
Almoessenier, Rentmeester, oock schepen, lest thresorier

The exile heritage of the Van Panhuys family was commemorated for many generations, as will be shown in chapter 5. The foundations of this discourse, however, had been laid in the sixteenth century when the migration experience demanded a religious interpretation and created a range of new identities.

Consolatory writings mentioning exile were still printed after the persecution in the Netherlands. To many second-generation migrants from the Low Countries in Germany, the Thirty Years War felt like a repetition of history. In 1640 Daniel Placius, born in Appingedam in Groningen but active in the Emden region, published a German tract to comfort those who were afflicted by 'misery, setbacks and persecution.'[90] Between the 1620s and the 1640s, news from Bohemia, Austria and the Palatinate and the precarious state of Protestantism in these regions constantly reminded later generations of the possibility of renewed persecutions and the threat of exile; Netherlandish inhabitants of Frankenthal experienced constant uncertainty about their future in the Palatinate. In 1625, Frankenthal minister Peter Crugot published an influential commentar on the Apocalypse of St. John, in which he speculated about future persecution.[91] Johann Konrad Löhr, minister of the German-speaking congregation of Frankenthal, addressed his Walloon coreligionists in a consolatory epistle that followed all the patterns of late-sixteenth century pastoral-theological writing in the Netherlands and exhorted them to remain steadfast in their faith and to withstand the Catholic threat.[92] Remembering the past was thus not only a source of identity but also a key to understanding the present and the future.

T Antwerpen uut gedient. Uut swaer beleg'ring quam ick hier
Als pilgrom, daer ick storf', myn wyf dry daeg' tevoren.
Nu liggen wy hier int stof, der Werelt als verloren:
S doods ure en conden t goet, vrinden, noch meester uutstellen,
Hadd' Christus niet g'rantsoent, wy waren t' aes der hellen.
Daerom Lieft Godt, vliet sond', t bedroch der werelt varen laet:
Want hoe schoon dat hier blinckt, als wolck end roock alles vergaet.

90 Daniel Placius, *Würtzgärtlein Glaubiger betrübter und geängster Seelen. Darinnen allerley Hertzerquickende labende Kräuterlein/ theils wider Blöd- und Mattigkeit in Kranckheit, Creütz, Trübsal, Anfechtung und Verfolgung, theils auch wider die Bitterkeit Furcht und Schrecken des Todes selbsten zulesen*, Emden 1640.

91 Peter Crugot, *Notae In Apocalypsin B. Apostoli Joannis: In quibus Communis Ecclesiae Usque Ad Finem Mundi Duraturae Persecutio, Reformatio atq. liberatio explicatur: Martyrumq. singularis resuscitatio demonstratur*, Frankfurt 1625.

92 Johann Konrad Löhr, *Heylsamer Raht/ Gegeben Den Wallonischen Kyrchen in der Pfaltz: welche von wegen des heiligen Evangelii unsers Herren Jesu Christi verfolget werden / Erstlich in Frantzösischer Spraach beschrieben: nun aber der Teutschen Nation zu gut ins Teutsch gebracht/ Durch Johan. Conradum Löhr/ weyland Predigern der Hoch-Teutschen Kyrchen zu Franckenthal*, Basel 1629.

CHAPTER 2

Recapturing the *patria*

Memory and the Anticipation of the Future

After the fierce strife between the armies of the Habsburgs and the United Provinces during the 1590s and the first years of the new century, it became clear that the two sides had reached a stalemate. The prospect of a definitive victory for either side appeared hopeless.[1] Except for Southern refugees hoping for a reconquest of Flanders and Brabant, many in the Northern camp had lost heart. Among those who still hoped for imminent change in the military stalemate was Francois van Aerssen, the ambassador of the Dutch Republic in Paris, who had left Brussels with his parents in the 1580s. Even when it became apparent that France would not intervene in the conflict, Van Aerssen refused to give up his optimism and did not cease to repeat that 'war and peace take turns like day and night' and that the military situation could change unexpectedly.[2]

Among the great numbers of refugees in the Northern Provinces were many who refused to regard the cities of Holland as their new home and give up hope of returning to the South. Antwerp merchant Johan Thijs paid close attention to military developments in the Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire after leaving Antwerp following its capitulation to Farnese's armies. In letters to his brother-in-law Andreas de Bacher, written during the 1590s, Thijs reported news from the Low Countries and France and informed his kinsman about the situation in the Empire. His hopes of returning to Antwerp were directly connected to his political vision of the conflict: the Southern Netherlands had to be recaptured with the assistance of a broad alliance of German Protestant rulers. When enquiring about Spanish military actions in the Empire during the 1590s, he did not do so purely out of economic interest, ensuring the safety of trade routes, but because of the significance of the war in Germany on the cause of the Dutch Revolt.[3] Thijs considered the events in Germany to be of crucial importance regarding the situation in the Netherlands. Once the Spaniards had gone too far on German soil, he optimistically concluded in one

1 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 259f; Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659*, Cambridge 1972.

2 A. Th. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau. De winnaar die faalde*, Amsterdam 2000, p. 187.

3 See: e.g.: Arch Thys. 133: A4: Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. July 8, 1598 and February 16, 1599; Arch. Thys. 133: B1: March 17, 1599.

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of his letters, the German princes would no longer remain patient, 'and when the Protestants have moved to the battlefield, I am confident that they are willing to help the cause in our countries [...].'[4]

The notion of a united international Protestant alliance played a central role in Thijs's thinking concerning the war in the Netherlands. This perspective was typical for the network of Reformed Antwerp merchants in the Republic and the Empire. Since their departure from Brabant in the 1580s, merchants such as Anthoine 'l Empereur, Daniel van der Meulen and Jacques della Faille had followed international politics closely, and in their view the Revolt was part of a broader, international conflict. When the Spanish Armada was heading northwards in 1588, Van der Meulen and Della Faille were eager to receive news about the campaign, partly due to their interest in trade with England, but more so because a victorious fleet would threaten not only Britain but also the Netherlands. Della Faille was right in his assumption that Spanish armies planned to prepare an invasion of England from Flemish soil, and he was well aware of the consequences of such an operation; the war would enter a new stage.[5] Two years earlier he had been concerned about the outbreak of civil war in the Empire when the war between the prince-bishop of Cologne and Imperial troops threatened to escalate, and there were rumors about the election of the Danish king as a counter candidate to Emperor Rudolf by the Protestant electors.[6] Like Della Faille and Thijs, Anthoine l'Empereur eagerly collected and reported international news: not only did he take notes about recent military actions in Central Europe and the Empire, he also copied texts such as Henry IV's declaration of his conversion to Catholicism and pamphlets about the wars of his time.[7]

That this interest in international news cannot solely be attributed to economic interests is best illustrated by letters from Johan Thijs to his brother-in-law Andreas de Bacher, who served the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel as a medical attendant. Trading affairs were of little interest to De Bacher, and we can clearly detect patterns in the correspondence that show the connection of recent news to the greater context of the Revolt and the expectations the

4 Arch Thys. 133: A4.: Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. July 8, 1598: 'Ende ist dat de protestanten hebben haer moeten int velt begeven is mijn vertrouwen datse de saecken in dese landen voorts sullen helpen [...].'

5 RAL, Archief Daniël van der Meulen, 96, inv. nr. *538*, Brieven van Jacques della Faille, *nr. 95–96; June 10, 1588; nr. 98–99; July 4, 1588.*

6 Ibid., *55–56; November 16, 1586.*

7 Arch. Thys. 279: Stukken afkomstig van Anthoine 'l Empereur: Nouvelles. (1593, 1596, 1606.)

refugees had of the future. From 1596 to 1601, the letters are full of references to the war and hope for international Protestant support in the Low Countries, while from 1601 onwards the correspondence seems devoid of references to war or politics. In 1596, Thijs expected an intervention of fifty English warships and was hopeful that Elizabeth I could turn the tide in the Netherlands; he had heard good news from Antwerp and believed that Habsburg rule in the South was about to end: 'In all of my days, I have never had more hope than now.'[8] During the following years his hope was based mostly on Protestant support from the Empire: even though he was concerned about Spanish raids in Cleves and elsewhere in Germany, the news about these events stimulated his optimism, since such actions could stir up the Germans against the Spaniards and lead to a united Protestant front against Habsburg aggression:

> We are greatly astonished by the enemy's boldness that makes him vandalize German soil in such a way. I reckon that he will not fare well in the end. We assume that this will cause their ruin and bring about a hope for peace. In our regions, they will have few chances, and in Brabant hope will not be given up. Therefore the princes in Germany will have to put them in their place. And if the Protestants will enter the battlefield, I trust that they will quickly help the cause in this country, since they are also clearly interested in what can be accomplished in one go. Therefore I ask you to tell me, what morale is among you. The Spaniard and his associates, who serve the Pope, think they accomplish great things, but they reckon without their host and we can fairly say that God is laughing at their plans.[9]

8 Arch. Thys. 133: A3.: Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. February 22, 1596: 'Ick en heb mijn daegen geen beter moet gehad als nu.'

9 Arch. Thys. 133: A4.: Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. February 8, 1599: '[. . .] ons verwondert seer de stouticheijt van den vijant dat hij den duytsen bodem soe derft beschadigen. Ick gisse dat het hem tot leste niet wel vergaen sal. Wij beelden ons in dat het een orsaeke sal wesen van haer verderfeniß ende een hoope van eenen vrede, bij ons sullen sij luttel kanß vinden, ende te brabant en begevense den verloren hoop niet, ergo de prinsen in Duytslant die sullense moeten weijsen waer sij te huijs horen. Ende ist dat de protestanten hebben haer moeten int velt begeven is mijn vertrouwen datse de saecken in dese landen voorts sullen helpen flitts dewijl sij merkelijck mede geïnteresseerd sijn welck met eender moeijte geschieden kan. Daerom bidde ick U.L. sal mij believen eens te advijsen wat voor moet bij U.L. is, de spaniart ende geasoseerde die den paus dienen mijnen wonder aen te rechten maer sij rekenen sonder haeren weert men mach wel seggen dat godt haer raetslagen belacht.'

How closely Thijs's hope for an international front against 'the Spaniard' was connected to his own wish to return to Antwerp is clearly expressed in his letters:

> Our hope is that the war, which has endured for so long now, will soon be over and that at last we can return to Antwerp, the city of our fathers. Because the haughtiness of the Spaniard has already reached its climax and it seems that he who has afflicted all the world may now be afflicted himself and since the spring he has suffered harm and derision not only at Schenckenschans but also in Nijmegen.[10]

Thijs's letters are full of such considerations until the spring of 1601, when he apparently lost confidence in having a future in the South. On April 20, 1601, he wrote to De Bacher that although he had remained optimistic until the beginning of that year, he had now changed his mind: 'But now I am in doubt and I start to question the (possibility of a coming) peace. Therefore I have resolved to buy a house here and to forget Antwerp.'[11] After this letter and the self-imposed dictate to forget mentions of international politics and warfare become scarce, Thijs's decision to concentrate on a future in Holland seems to have inhibited his interest in the cause of the Revolt. Only occasionally, when he dared to catch a glimmer of hope, did he resume writing about the course of the war and his wish to return to the South, though mostly in a tone of resignation: even if there is no reasonable chance, he writes, 'we still keenly desire to return to our fatherland.'[12]

Until early 1606, there was no change in Thijs's view. Between 1601 and 1606 he seems to have unsuccessfully tried 'to forget Antwerp.' His silence regarding his lost home in the South and his desire to return was suddenly interrupted in January 1606, when he apparently regained hope in a reversal of the course of events. In a letter to his brother-in-law he writes:

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10 Arch. Thys. 133: B1: Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. July 13, 1599: 'Onse hoope is dat wij haest een eynde hebben sullen hebben van dese swaere oorloge soe lange geduurt ende dat wij thans naer Antwerpen onse vaderlijcke stadt geraicken sullen want de grote hoofart van de Spaniaert is op het hoochste geweest ende t'schijnt dat die alle de werelt bedroefft heeft wel mocht bedroefft worden hij heeft sint het voorjaer passelijke schaede geleden ende spot, soe bij de Schenckenschans als bij Nimegen.'

11 Arch. Thys. 133: B2: Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. 20 april 1601: 'Maer nu sta ick in bedencken ende beginne te twijffelen aen de vrede. Soo dat ick geresolveerd heb alhier een huis te koopen ende Antwerpen te vergeten.'

12 Arch. Thys. 133: B3: Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. November 20, 1602: '[. . .] doch verlanct ons seer om weder in ons vaderlant te comen.'

> You give me back the hope that the chances may and can now turn quickly. I believe that finally we may well see a sudden change. For it has been a long time now and we get old—we get old and many of us die on the road because we still cannot enter the Promised Land.[13]

In the same passage, Thijs again expresses his confidence in the 'kings of France, England, Sweden and the princes of Germany' who would no longer be willing to tolerate 'the government of the Spaniards and Jesuits.'[14]

The case of Johan Thijs seems to be typical of migrants of his generation who had left their homes in the Southern Netherlands and hoped to return until the eve of the Twelve Years' Truce. Particularly among the educated elite, who had access to international news and media, a well-defined consciousness about causes and perspectives of the war had emerged. This does not, of course, imply that confessional and political consciousness determined all the decisions and actions of these people. As the correspondence of Thijs reveals, the wish to return to the South was prevailing; however, a return could only be envisaged once the Reformed faith had been reestablished and the 'the haughtiness of the Spaniard' was broken.[15] When the Truce was announced in 1609, the Thijs family, like the majority of their fellow Antwerpers in the North, did not attempt to return. On the contrary, they tried to sell their property in the South despite low profits.[16] The only perspective Thijs and others could envisage to bring about a return to Antwerp was a victory of the Republic's armies in alliance with other European Protestant forces. The vision of a united Protestant force against 'the Spaniard' was not based so much on deep-rooted confessional antagonism but, rather, originated in the hope to return to the

13 Arch. Thys. 133: C3: Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. January 26, 1606: 'U.L. geven mij moet dat de cansen sich wel haest wenden ende keren konde. Ick gelove wel datter entlijck wel ligtelijck een subite verandering comen mochte. Dan de tijt valt ons lanck wij worden oudt(,) oud ende veel sterven daer onder wech dat wij het belooffde land niet in konnen comen.'

14 Ibid.

15 This sheds new light on the findings of Oscar Gelderblom, who has studied refugees like Thijs from an economic perspective. In Gelderblom's view, decisions of Thijs and other exiled Antwerp merchants were primarily dictated by economic considerations. However, as the correspondence of the Thijs family shows, not only religious commitment but also strong ties to what they perceived as their home played crucial roles in their deliberations about where to relocate and anticipate a possible future. See: Gelderblom, *Zuidnederlandse kooplieden*, pp. 74ff.

16 Arch. Thys. 133: D1. Brieven aan Andreas de Bacher. December 14, 1606.

South, something which could only be achieved with the assistance of like-minded allies.

As we have seen, the notion that they would never return home occurred relatively late to people such as Thijs. At least until 1601, Thijs had considered himself a temporary resident of the Northern Netherlands; even a few years later he was still open to the idea of an imminent return. Memories of his lost home were channeled into a wish to return. In 1594, while he was still residing in Prussia, Thijs had written to a business partner, who had also left Antwerp after 1585:

> We desire to live again in our father's town, from which we are far away since we have to wander as exiles through foreign countries for ten years now. And our children grow up, and I don't want them to grow up as strangers. I have often considered buying a house here and becoming a citizen, but thinking of our fatherland I have refrained from doing so.[17]

As the correspondence of De Bacher, Della Faille and Johan Thijs shows, memories of the past and the anticipation of the future were connected to such an extent that giving up the hope of living once again in Antwerp made it necessary to forget the past. A form in which the past could be preserved in a closed and nostalgic way—devoid of direct political implications—could not yet be found; giving up hope implied keeping silent the past.

'Hot' and 'Cold' Memory

Egyptologist Jan Assmann and political historian Charles S. Maier have introduced a conceptual distinction between 'hot' and 'cold' memory.[18] In a comparison between collective memories of the National Socialist terror and the

17 Johan Thijs, as quoted in: Gelderblom, *Zuidnederlandse kooplieden*, p. 182: 'Wy syn begerende dat wy onse vaders stede weder bewoonen moechten daer wy nu int tiende jaer uwyt syn ende in ons ballinckschap in vreemde landen hebben moeten wandelen. Ende onse kindekens worden meter tyt groet dewelcke ick niet gerne soude willen vervremden. Ick hebbe wel offtermael voorgenomen hier een huys te koopen ende de borgerschap te winnen, dan heb hetselve als ick op ons vaderland gedacht hebben noch ter tyt naegelaten.' On Thijs's nostalgic wish to return to the South, see also: R. van Roijen, 'Een familiecorrespondentie van omstreeks 1600,' *Leidsch Jaarboekje* 34 (1942), pp. 124–150, esp. p. 126.

18 Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München 1992, pp. 66ff.; Charles S. Maier, 'Heißes und kaltes

crimes against humanity committed under Stalin, Maier concludes that the latter had a less personally confronting impact while the former continually forced future generations to position themselves in regard to the Nazi atrocities.[19] According to Maier, the cruelties of the Holocaust continued to force the question 'What would I have done?' and delivered a clear political message for the future. In contrast, the mass killings under the Stalinists did not contain such a clear message, as they were not perceived as explicitly directed against any particular minority. Unlike the 'hot memory' of the Holocaust that demanded a 'never again,' their place in collective memory soon became 'cold' and ceased to motivate political action in the present and future.

While the implications of Maier's coinage of these terms differ in many respects from the commemoration of flight and persecution of Netherlandish migrants, his concept may be helpful in understanding how migrant memories in the early seventeenth century changed. For many refugees, keeping the memory of their homeland alive anticipated a return and, in published form, propagated a continuation of the war against the Habsburg forces in the South. These memories were not politically neutral; they cried for action. Once they saw that military attempts to recapture their homes had failed, the migrants often became silent about their past. In many cases, it was only in the next generations that a new 'cold' form of memory came into being, and the past was retold without a direct call for action or a territorial claim. As chapter 4 of this book will show, the fate of their ancestors was a closed narrative that belonged to the past, as it lacked immediacy and direct political implications.

The 'hot' memory that prevailed among the first migrant generation was clearly recognized by contemporaries, who tried to canalize such memories for political purposes. Many southern writers and pamphleteers in the North realized that hope for a future in Brabant and Flanders could only be awakened by keeping the past alive. By referring to their lost home in pamphlets and plays and integrating memories of dispersion and persecution into historical narratives that proclaimed a 'common fatherland' of those living in the Seventeen Provinces who were willing to fight for freedom, they called for a continuation of the war and warned that a peace pact would lead to definitive loss of the southern territories. This use of memory was paralleled by other exiled groups from the Netherlands: while Protestant Southerners in the Dutch Republic called for the recapturing of their homes, northern Catholics who had left for the Southern Netherlands also strove to have their homelands

Gedächtnis: Über die politische Halbwertszeit von Nazismus und Kommunismus,' in: *Transit. Europäische Revue* (*Das Gedächtnis des Jahrhunderts*) 22 (2002), pp. 153–165.

19 Ibid.

returned under the reign of the Catholic Church. Among the Holland Mission, which clandestinely operated in Holland and Utrecht, many missionaries were exiles from the Northern Provinces and were driven by the wish to win the North back for Catholic faith. As this chapter shows, the discourses in which southern Protestant and northern Catholic exiles engaged to urge recovery of their lost homes were not exclusive but made use of the same motifs. Not only did their publications mirror and imitate each other's arguments, they also directly reacted to claims of the opposite party and tried to counter them with arguments of their own.

Keeping the Past Alive

The year 1606 marked a crucial point in the formation of attitudes towards the past and the future of many southern refugees in the Republic; Johan Thijs was not the only one to catch a glimpse of hope of a possible recapture of the southern cities. In May 1605, the States Armies under Maurice had launched a campaign against Antwerp that would be fended off easily but it nevertheless reawakened the hopes of numerous Southerners and stirred the imaginations of many; in Amsterdam and other Holland towns, wagers were made about a possible conquest of Antwerp, and, as Johan Thijs's nephew Samuel de Bacher reports, people were ready to invest great fortunes in these bets.[20] Rumors about military actions on the Scheldt and a victorious siege of Antwerp spread quickly. De Bacher, who was critical enough to dismiss these rumors as mere cock and bull stories, was still excited about the idea of a possible defeat of the Habsburg regime in the South. Even if he noted that the stories could not be trusted, he repeatedly reported rumors of a Habsburg defeat and opined that one ought to pray for a victory against the Spanish enemy.[21]

When in January 1606 Johan Thijs manifested new hope for a victory in the South, other southern exiles tried to exploit the changing atmosphere by launching a propagandistic campaign.[22] On 1 January 1606, Southern nobleman Jacob Duym, who had fought during the siege of Antwerp and been imprisoned by Parma's troops, published his *Ghedenck-boeck*, a collection of six plays

20 Arch. Thys. 118: B1.: Brieven van Samuel de Bacher aan zijn zuster Hedwich de Bacher. May 24, 1605.

21 See: e.g.: Ibid.; Arch. Thys. 118 B2: letter to Hedwich de Bacher from February 25, 1606.

22 Judith Pollmann, 'No Man's Land. Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585–1621,' in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (eds), *Networks, Regions and Nations. Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, Leiden 2010, pp. 241–261, especially p. 254.

FIGURE 3 *Anonymous*, Mislukte aanslag op Antwerpen, 1605, *Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.*

about the Revolt against the Habsburg regime, intended to make its readers aware of 'all the evils and the great mischief committed by the Spaniards and their associates' against the Netherlandish people.[23] Duym, who had settled in Leiden after his release from captivity, believed it necessary to remind his fellow countrymen of the past, which he feared might otherwise sink into oblivion. Ten years earlier he and other fellow Southerners had already warned that memories of war, especially in the South, were vanishing and that this amnesia prevented an adequate understanding of the present political situation. When the Leiden Chamber of Rhetoric *De Witte Acoleyen* ('The white columbine')

23 Jacob Duym, *Een ghedenck-boeck, het welck ons leert aen al het quaet en den grooten moetwil van de Spaingnaerden en haren aenhanck ons aen-ghedaen te ghedencken. Ende de groote liefde ende trou vande Princen uyt den huyse van Nassau, aen ons betoont, eeuwelick te onthouden. Speel-wijs in dicht ghestelt door Iacob Dvym*, Leiden 1606. On Duym, see: Johan Koppenol, *Jacob Duym en de Leidse rederijkers*, (http://www.neerlandistiek.nl/publish/articles/000010/article_print.html; consulted on 10 November 2013); Henk Duits, 'Om de eenheid en vrijheid van de gehele Nederlanden: Jacob Duyms'Ghedenck-boeck'(1606) als politiek manifest,' in: *Voortgang. Jaarboek voor de Neerlandistiek* 20 (2001), pp. 7–45.

announced the motto for an upcoming festivity in 1596, 'Voor een beveynsde paeys, een rechte crijch te preisen is' ('Why a just war is to be praised over a crooked peace'), the participants were asked to write verses, songs and plays on the topic of war and peace.[24] The members of the Flemish chamber of Leiden, *De Orange Lelie* ('The orange lily') were especially eager to spread their message that a coming peace treaty with the Habsburgs could not be trusted and that the war needed to be continued. Starting with Abraham, who had attacked and defeated the captors of his nephew Lot, they referred to a vast number of historical parallels. As they asserted, Moses and Joshua could never have entered the Promised Land without the use of force, and the kings David and Hezekiah had been required to use force to defend that Land. In addition to biblical parallels, the recent past was also evoked; rhetoricians depicted the Peace of Augsburg and the Pacification of Ghent as failures unable to prevent Catholic cruelties, and they reminded their audience of the events of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.[25] When Duym's *Ghedenck-boeck* was published ten years later in 1606, it contained a play with the title *Een bewys dat beter is eenen goeden Crijgh, dan eenen ghegheveynsden peys* ('A proof that a good war is better than a crooked peace') that echoes the contributions of the 1596 festivities, suggesting that Duym's influence as the chairman of *De Orange Lelie* was crucial and that he shaped the views of other contributors.

Duym was not the only author who tried to warn against peace negotiations by referring to the past. Another connection between the climate of 1605/1606 and events that had taken place in the late-sixteenth century was made in the reissued publication of Everard van Reyd's *Trouhertighe vermaninghe aen het Vereenichde Nederlandt* ('Faithful admonition of the United Netherlands') by Irenius Ammonius, a pseudonym of the publisher Johan van Sande.[26] Van Reyd, the famous chronicler of the Dutch Revolt, had tried to warn his fellow countrymen against entering a truce with the Habsburg Regime in the late 1590s by depicting the cruelties committed by Spanish armies and the House of Habsburg in the Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire and other parts of Europe. All these events were proof that Spaniards could never be trusted and

24 See: Johan Koppenol, *Leids Heelal. Het Loterijspel (1596) van Jan van Hout*, Hilversum 1998, pp. 94ff.

25 *Den lust-hof van Rethorica, waer inne verhael ghedaen wordt, vande beschrijvinghen ende t'samen-comsten der Hollantscher Cameren vanden Reden-rijckers, binnen Leyden gheschiedt, den 26 Mey, des Iaers 1596. ende de volgende daghen, met het gene aldaer ghedaen, ende verhandelt is*, Leiden 1596, pp. 143f.

26 Ireneus Ammonius (Johan van Sande), *Trouhertighe Vermaninghe aen het Vereenichde Nederlandt, om niet te luysteren na eenige ghestroyde ende versierde vreed-articulen, nu onlangs wtghegaen ende ghestroyt*, s.i. 1605.

that peace was not an option—the atrocities committed by the enemy and his notorious treachery were evidence enough. Like the playwright Jacob Duym, Van Sande applied this message, originally dating from the turn of the century, to the present situation, in which alert observers were able to anticipate the approaching necessity of negotiating between the two warring parties.[27] Both Van Sande and Duym stressed the contrast between the 'free' and the 'overlorded' Netherlands, namely the Dutch Republic and the Southern Provinces under Habsburg rule. The authors presented themselves as 'lovers of freedom,' and the only place indicated in Van Sande's pamphlet was '*buyten Antwerpen*' ('outside Antwerp') that denoted the town as occupied territory where the voice of freedom could not be raised.[28] Duym, who reenacted the fall of Antwerp in one of the six plays of the *Ghedenck-boeck*, addresses fellow Southerner and member of the exiled council of Brabant, Lodewijk Meganck, in the preface and points to the 'overlorded' and 'desolate' state of Antwerp sharply contrasted with its former bloom and the prosperity and freedom of the Northern Provinces.[29] In addition to keeping the war past alive in collective memory, Duym also tried to remind his public in the North that not all of the Netherlands shared the same conditions and that the South was still in the hands of the enemy. By referring to traumatizing events during the war, he dramatized the imagined state of the Southern Provinces and connected it to an image of a past many Northern readers were familiar with.[30]

Exile and the Reclaiming of the Homeland

The need to recapture the lost 'fatherland' was felt not only by Protestant exiles in the Dutch Republic but also by northern Catholics who had fled to the Southern Netherlands after the rebel takeover of their home provinces.

27 See: Simon Groenveld, *Het Twaalfjarig Bestand 1609–1621. De jongelingsjaren van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden*, The Hague 2009, 35ff.; Simon Groenveld, *Unie, Bestand, Vrede. Drie fundamentele wetten van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden*, Hilversum 2009, pp. 94ff.

28 Ammonius, *Trouhertighe Vermaninghe aen het Vereenichde Nederlandt*, A1. Such fictitious places were not uncommon in early modern pamphlets, but instead of choosing another town he deliberately signifies Antwerp as an overlorded city.

29 Jacob Duym, *Belegheringhe der stadt Antwerpen by den Prince van Parma uyt crachte van sijne Coninclijcke Majesteyt van Hispaignien, in den jaere 1584*, Leiden 1606, fol. A2ff.

30 On the emerging memory canons of the revolt in the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands, see forthcoming works of Jasper van der Steen and also: Jasper van der Steen, 'Goed en fout in de Nederlandse Opstand,' in: *Holland. Historisch Tijdschrift* 43/2 (2011), pp. 82–97.

Although the number of Protestant refugees during the Dutch Revolt greatly exceeded that of Catholic migrants, the experience of exile was shared by adherents of virtually all confessions. As the writings of members of various refugee groups show, there were more similarities than differences in sentiments about losing one's homeland and being forced to live in exile. While not all Catholic refugees who left their hometowns for territories under Habsburg control subscribed to a clearly defined confessional identity; Catholics from Holland were well represented in the Society of Jesus and the Holland Mission, as the registers and necrologies of the Jesuit Order attest.[31] Among the men who entered the Holland Mission, a sense of fighting for a spiritual reconquest of their homes was very vivid, and, as their necrologies suggest, they cherished this motive until late in their lives. The descriptions of the lives of Jesuits from Holland and other Protestant territories, written by their brethren, show rich evidence of how they narrated their lives and understood themselves and their situation.[32] A typical description of an exiled brother's life is the necrology of Johannes Riserius from Amsterdam. Born in 1573 to Catholic parents, he lost his father at a young age and was raised in the 'true faith' by his devout mother, whose description in the necrologies bears a strong resemblance to the archetypical pious Catholic mother figure, Augustine's mother Monica.[33] After suffering hatred and affliction at the hands of the new Protestant magistrate of Amsterdam, he fled with his mother to Emden, famous for its numerous Protestant refugees. As the necrology suggests, mother and child were actively persecuted by the new regime but were able to escape, a rather implausible claim. Living in exile since his early youth, Riserius was guided by the wish to restore the 'true Religion' in Holland, his fatherland. 'Having already seen the beginning of great dangers, pains and persecutions, which even grew larger, he became a member of the Holland Mission for forty years and was sent

31 See: Alfred Poncelet, *Nécrologe des jésuites de la Province Flandro-Belge*, Wetteren 1931; Alfred Poncelet, *Nécrologe des jésuites de la Province Gallo-Belge*, Louvain 1908. See also: Hans Peterse, 'Leonardus Marius (1588–1652) und die katholische Mission in den Niederlanden,' in: Herman Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt (eds.), *Konfession, Migration Und Elitenbildung. Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leiden 2007, pp. 287–309; Janssen, 'The Counter-Reformation of the Refugee,' J. Andriessen, *De Jezuieten en het samenhorigheidsbesef der Nederlanden*, Antwerp 1957, pp. 96f.

32 See on this type of sources: Gerrit vanden Bosch, 'Over de doden niets dan goeds. Zeventiende-eeuwse elogia en necrologia van jezuïeten in de Hollandse Zending als bronnen voor religieuze mentaliteitsgeschiedenis,' in: *Trajecta* 6 (1997), pp. 334–345.

33 KB Brussel, Afdeling handschriften, ms. 6485 Bibl. roy., fol. 10r.

away to be trained as cleric.'[34] In the discourse of the newly awakened confessional zeal of the Holland Mission and the Jesuit Order, the experience of exile and the wish to recatholicize the Northern Netherlands were closely linked: northern exiles such as Isisdorus van der Ilen, Justus Diercx, Theodorus Kividt, Cornelius Vermeersch, Johannes van Gouda and Petrus den Hollander were highly praised for their efforts to fight for the true church and their fatherland as well as for their often highly exaggerated successes in the conversion of heretics in the North.[35]

The achievements in the conversion of Protestants by members of the Holland Mission, who had returned to their former homelands as 'internal exiles,' were the pride of the organization and widely praised. Johannes Riserius, his biographer claimed, had on a single day converted twenty Calvinists, three Lutherans and fifty others, whose confessional affiliations were not entirely clear.[36] When the Jesuit Chronicler Albertus Miraeus published his *Elogia illustrium Belgii scriptorium* in 1602, he glorified the efforts of exiled writers who had boldly fought 'the churches of the Manicheans, the Donatists and the Pelagians, nowadays to be known as Lutherans, Calvinists and Anabaptists.'[37] Clerics who sought refuge for the sake of their faith were presented as exemplary believers, and their exertions for the Church were celebrated. Their battles against heresy and the conversion of Protestants were proudly recalled as well as their efforts to care for their fellow exiles, whom they had provided with pastoral care in times of affliction. Petrus Cunerus, born in Zeeland and later active in Frisia from where he was banished by the new Protestant regime, had remained not only loyal to the true religion and the King but had also strengthened the faith of his exiled fellow believers

34 Ibid.: 'Adeo jam cum in puero praelusum videtur periculis, laboribus, persecutionibus quibus jam grandor, ac Religiosus in missione hollandica per annos 40 et exportus et exercitus fuit.'

35 For Van der Ilen, see: KB Brussel, Afdeling handschriften, ms. Bibl. roy. 6485, fol. 36r.; for Cromstrien: ibid., fol. 207r.; for Diercx: ibid., fol. 45r.; for Kividt: ibid., fol. 92r.; for Vermeersch: ibid., fol. 137r.; for Van Gouda: ms. Bibl. roy., 171; for Den Hollander: ms. Bibl. roy. 654, fol. 33.

36 KB Brussel, Afdeling handschriften, ms. 6485 Bibl. roy., fol. 10v.

37 Albertus Miraeus, *Elogia illustrium Belgii scriptorium, qui vel Ecclesiam Dei propugnerant, vel disciplinas illustrarunt*, Antwerp 1602, 84: 'Ut magnum illud Ecclesiae Manichaeos, donatistas & Pelagianos; sic nostra aetate Lutheranos, Calvinistes & Anabaptistes in Germania strenuè Canisius oppugnavit.' Petrus Canisius, to whom this passage refers, was not really an exile since he had left Nijmegen before Protestantism had become dominant. Nevertheless, he had to consider his home soil as occupied by heretics after 1591 when Catholic worship was outlawed.

in Cologne, as his necrologist wrote.[38] The motif of the faithful refugee who had left his homeland for religion's sake had become an exemplary figure who could serve to propagate a new zeal for the post-Tridentine church.

Within this climate a remarkable medial constellation emerged that transferred the use of the religious exiles' fate between the antagonistic confessional camps and linked their situation to the most emblematic religious and political martyrs of the Revolt. In 1610, Louvain professor and widely acknowledged neo-Latin playwright Nicolaus Vernulaeus published a play titled *Gorcomienses, sive fidei exilium* ('The Gorcumers, or: Faith in Exile') that bore strong thematic and intertextual connections to the work of northern Protestant writers such as Duym and Daniel Heinsius, who had either experienced exile themselves or come from southern families.[39] The play was printed in Cologne by Bernardus Gualteri, a Catholic publisher with close connections to Dutch Catholic printers and people who had experienced exile in Germany.[40] In this work, Vernulaeus depicted the fate of the martyrs of Gorcum, nineteen Catholic clerics who were killed by the Sea Beggars in 1572. The fate of the Gorcum martyrs served to illustrate the present situation in the Netherlands: not only had pious Catholics in Holland been killed and forced to flee to Catholic territories, the 'true faith' itself had been exiled from the Rebel provinces. In crucial passages of the play, a choir of banished Hollanders takes the stage, lamenting their fate and the fact that the natural bond between the Netherlands and the Catholic faith had been destroyed. The same motif had been employed in Daniel Heinsius' Latin drama *Auriacus, sive Libertas saucia* ('Orange, or: Injured freedom') from 1602 and Jacob Duym's vernacular adaption of the same material, *Het moordadich stuck van Balthasar Gerards, begaen aen den doorluchtighen Prince van Oraignen. 1584* ('The murderous act of Baltasar Gerards, committed against the illustrious prince of Orange in 1584'), which was included in the *Ghedenck-boeck*.[41] Heinsius also connected the figure of the martyr to exile; while Vernulaeus chose the martyrs of Gorcum, the two Protestant writers presented William of Orange as a secular martyr. Instead

38 Ibid., pp. 26f.

39 Nicolaus Vernulaeus, *Gorcomienses, sive fidei exilium*, Cologne 1610.

40 Paul Begheyn S. J., 'Uitgaven van jezuïeten in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1601–1650,' in: *De zeventiende eeuw* 13 (1991), p. 296.

41 Daniel Heinsius, *Auriacus, sive Libertas saucia*, Leiden 1602; Jacob Duym, *Het moordadich stuck van Balthasar Gerards, begaen aen den doorluchtighen Prince van Oraignen. 1584*, in: *Ghedenck-boeck*. See also: B. A. Vermaseren, 'Een onbekend drama over de H. H. Martelaren van Gorcum,' in: *Bijdragen voor de provincie van de Minderbroeders in de Nederlanden* 3 (1951–1952), pp. 25–38.

of the emblematic figure of *Fides exilium* ('Exiled Faith'), the two Protestant playwrights staged *Libertas saucia* ('Violated Freedom'). This choice shows the fundamental values of the discourses into which the three authors inscribed their works: for Vernulaeus, the Catholic faith was intrinsically linked to the Netherlands, while for Heinsius and Duym the emblematic condensation of the roots and aims of the entire conflict was violated freedom.

The theme of exile constitutes an argumentative pattern crucial for the deliverance of the political message of the plays. The choirs of exiles are depicted as characterizations of 'true Netherlanders' exiled and estranged from their roots by the violence of foreigners. In Heinsius' and Duym's plays, Netherlandish freedom is abolished and replaced by Spanish tyranny; the innate sense of freedom of exiled Flemish nobles is damaged, and they lament the loss of their old 'Vlaenderlandt':

> Oh Flemish land, how long must you wait for your honor,
> instead of freedom you only taste oppression,
> and your enemy is always nearby.
> Even you, oh noble town of Ghent,
> how much you have to suffer, what tidings do you hear,
> your friends are chased away, you lost too much.
> Fortunate are those who left,
> And you will live with those who hate you most.
> In the name of the Lord shall we be free
> and you have to learn Spanish instead of Flemish.[42]

Flanders is bereft of its old freedom and put under a foreign yoke. By explicitly marking the new order as foreign, the territories under Habsburg rule are depicted as estranged from their original identity; 'instead of Flemish,' Flanders has 'to learn Spanish.' The old 'Flemish' values, most notably the sense of

42 Jacob Duym, *Het moordadich stuck van Balthasar Gerards*, fol. Cır.:
O Vlaenderlandt wat is u eer yet lang nakende,
In plaets van vrijheyd zult ghy dwanck zijn smakende,
En uwen vyand sal u altijt zijn omtrent,
En u noch boven al o edel stad van Gent,
Wat sult ghy lijden noch, wat sult ghy moeten horen:
U vrienden zijn verjaegt, ghy hebt te veel verloren.
Gheluckich zijn sy al die u verlaten eest,
Want ghy nu wonen sult met die u haten meest.
In vrijheyd sullen wy zijn inden naem des Heeren
En ghy sult nu in plaets van Vlaems, Spaens moeten leeren.

freedom, could live on only in exile where the confession of 'God's word' was still possible.

The same argumentative strategy is employed in the Catholic counterpart to the two William of Orange-plays: it is Holland that has lost its true identity, defined by unconditional loyalty to the Catholic faith and the King. After Holland is taken over by heretics such as Calvinists, Lutherans and Mennonites who worship Eribus, the God of darkness, the old natural bond with King and Church is broken.[43] As in Heinsius' and Duym's plays, the Netherlands are afflicted by an inquisition presented as an allegorical personage. In *Gorcomienses*, the Spanish Inquisition of the two William of Orange-plays is turned into a 'Heretical Inquisition' installed by cruel adherents of the new heresies.[44] Whereas the two northern playwrights present the Spanish Inquisition as something foreign opposed to Netherlandish values and traditions and installed by foreign powers, Vernulaeus' work has the heretics come from abroad and become inspired by foreign ideas, their goal being to destroy the Netherlands and install a foreign regime.

The three plays, all from the first decade of the seventeenth century, use the theme of exile for the same function. Their aim is to show that the Netherlands are in a state of inversion: while 'true Netherlanders,' and with them the identity of the country, are forced into exile, opposing parties are identified as foreigners or at least forces trying to impose foreign policies. Depicting the fate of the exiles and linking their situation to well-known narratives about religious and political martyrdom was a powerful argumentative strategy to reclaim the provinces lost to the antagonizing camp.

'Memoria Magistra Vita'

The necessity of remembering events of the past is emphasized in various ways in the plays and media employed by exiled writers during the period prior to and throughout the Twelve Years' Truce. The entire *Ghedenck-boeck* was intended to keep the war past present in the collective memory and to warn against peace with the enemy, and other southern exiled writers, such as Willem Baudartius and Johannes Gysius, devoted their works to this project.[45] Although their works were published only after the Truce, the intention of the

43 Vernulaeus, *Gorcomienses*, pp. 37f.

44 Ibid., pp. 34ff.

45 Willem Baudartius, *Morghen-Wecker der vrije Nederlantsche Provincien*, 'Danswijck' 1610; Johannes Gysius, *Oorsprong en voortgang der Neder-landtscher beroerten ende*

publications was clear: to remind fellow Netherlanders of the atrocities committed by the Spaniards and to point out that the struggle had not yet ended, despite the twelve years of peace. The Southern Provinces were not yet free of Habsburg rule, and thousands of southern Protestants were still in exile in the Republic. The need to spread this message was considered so urgent that Baudartius' *Morghen-Wecker der vrije Nederlantsche Provincien* ('Wake-up call to the free Netherlandish Provinces') was even adapted into a children's book: *De Spieghel der jeugd* ('The Mirror of the Youth') and frequently reprinted and re-edited until far into the eighteenth century as well as translated into French.[46] The fear that Northern Netherlanders, especially those who had not lived through the war, would forget about their parents' experiences and accept the division between North and South, haunted many who had left their homes in Flanders, Brabant and other Southern Provinces. The new media campaign of the first two decades of the seventeenth century was put into service to fight the threatening 'sleep of oblivion.'[47] In the dedication to stadholder Maurice, Jacob Duym states that

> it is highly lamentable that some youths cannot believe or at least not remember what their parents, their friends or their fatherland have suffered […]. Therefore I have found it necessary to present a 'memory-book', wherein all people can see as clear as a mirror the bloodthirsty heart, the old hatred and the hidden evil plans the Spaniards and their adherents have borne, and still bear, towards the miserable Netherlands.[48]

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ellendicheden: Waerin vertoont worden, de voornaemste tyrannijen, moorderijen, ende andere onmenschelijcke wreetheden, die onder het ghebiedt van Philips II, s.l., 1616.

46 Johannes Bouillet, *Spieghel der jeught, ofte korte Cronijck der Nederlantsche geschiedenssen*, Amsterdam 1614. For the numerous reeditions, see: Wolfgang Cilleßen, ‚Der *Spieghel der jeugd*. Ein Kinderbuch als Medium der Geschichtserinnerung in den Niederlanden (1614–1813)', in: Hans Peterse (ed.), *Süß erscheint der Krieg den Unerfahrenen. Das Bild vom Krieg und die Utopie des Friedens in der frühen Neuzeit*, Göttingen 2004, pp. 51–134.

47 Baudartius, *Morghen-Wecker der vrije Nederlantsche Provincien*, fol. 2r.

48 Duym, *Ghedenck-boeck*, preface, fol. *2v–r: '[…] tis grootelijcx te beclaghen dat sommighe jonghers niet en konnen ghelooven oft immers niet en onthouden t'gheen dat haer Ouders, Vrienden, oft haer Vaderland wedervaren is […]. Heeft my daer om hooghnoodich ghedocht een *Ghedenck-boeck*, alle menschen voor te stellen, daer sy soo claer als in eenen spieghel sullen mogen sien het bloeddorstich hert, den ouden haed, den heymelicken boosen raed, die de Spaignaerts ende haren aenhanck dees onse bedroefde Nederlanden gedraghen hebben, ende noch draghende zijn.'

In the *Ghedenck-boeck*, Duym not only presents a selection of notable war events that need to be remembered but also constructs a vast 'poetics of remembering,' a program to demonstrate that memory is a necessary device to enable one to act prudently in the present because of an understanding of the past. The plots of the plays are often guided by memories that help the protagonists through difficult situations. In *Een bewys dat beter is eenen goeden Crijgh, den eenen ghegheveynsden peys*, the author introduces an allegorical personage, *Goeden Raed* ('Faithful Counsel'), who recalls the atrocities of the Spaniards whenever the Netherlanders' memory is threatened. When the States seem to tend towards a peace treaty with the enemy, 'Faithful Counsel' points out the fate of the overlorded Southern Provinces being cruelly oppressed by the Habsburgs. When his arguments fail, he recalls the massacre committed by Alba's troops at Naarden in 1572.[49] The true nature of the enemy, the Counsel shows, lies in such events; a lasting peace can never be established since the Spaniards would use it to strengthen their position and commit new cruelties in the Netherlands.

In the play about William of Orange, Duym illustrates an exemplary, heroic case of how memories can be used to make sound judgments in the present. The prince and his wife, Louise de Coligny, are presented as prudently guided by recollections of the past. Their experience with the Spaniards and French Catholics has left them under no illusions about the risks of concluding peace with the enemy. When a truce between the rebels and the Habsburgs is proposed, Louise (or Lowisa) falls into a mood of anxiety:

> *The Prince*
> In times of war you are not fearful,
> Why is it that you fear peace?
>
> *Lowisa*
> You should not be surprised about that,
> Was it not a false peace, that fell from heaven
> down upon me like a thunder?
> Was it not peace that took away both my father and my spouse?
> Was there ever a more solid peace,
> than when Navarra married our king's daughter?
> Does he, who fears peace, do wrong?

49 Duym, *Een bewys dat beter is eenen goeden Crijgh, den eenen gheveynsden peys*, fol. C4r–v, in: Duym, *Ghedenck-boeck*.

My father, who defended himself knightly,
and did not surrender to his enemy:
He is lying dead because of the peace that led to his murder
and also my husband, Téligny, died by the peace.
And that is why I give the true vengeance to God.
O, we see a lot, which goes disguised as peace.[50]

The fates of her father, Admiral Louis de Coligny, and her first husband, Charles de Téligny, both killed during the St. Batholomew's Day massacre in Paris, taught Louise that the idea of a secure peace was an illusion. The fact that this massacre also occurred during a formal state of peace taught her that enemies of Protestantism are not to be trusted. The message of the fervent pro-war plays of Duym is clear: the Dutch need to remember, and remembering can lead to only one conclusion: it is necessary to continue the war and resist the temptation of accepting a 'crooked peace.' For Duym and many other southern exiles in the Republic, the Southern Provinces, which still bore the yoke of the Spanish enemy, could not be given up. Even if he himself could no longer carry arms to recapture his fatherland, he could use his pen as a weapon and argue for the absolute necessity of remembering what had happened.

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50 Duym, *Het moordadich stuck van Balthasar Gerards*, fol. F1v:

Den Prins.

In d' oorlogh' en ziit ghy het vreesen niet ghewnt [sic],
Hoe naer vreest ghy den peys?

Lowisa

Sulcx waer van my gheen wonder,
En wast den valschen peys niet, die snel als den donder,
Daer uyt den Hemel viel, en my quam over t'hooft,
Ben ick niet door den peys van Vaer en Man berooft?
Was daer oyt peys, daer elck op vaster mochte bouwen?
Als men Navarra sagh ons Conincx Dochter trouwen?
Doet hy oock qualick dan die hem voor peys verveert,
Miin vader die hem had so Ridderlijck verweert,
En voor den vyand oock en wilde geensins swichten:
Leyt hy daer niet door peys, en moord die sy doen stichten,
En mijn man Tillingni, door den peys oock dood bleef,
Daer ick d'oprechte wraeck nu miinen God af geef,
Och onder t'dexel van peys, men veel ghebeuren, diet.

Remapping the Netherlands

The political and social world of first-generation southern exiles such as Duym, Thijs and Baudartius as well as that of northern Catholics who had joined the Holland Mission, changed dramatically within a few decades. They had been born into a world in which divisions between the two new states and the various confessional camps were yet unknown, though not entirely unpredictable. Handling the new situation in exile proved to be a difficult challenge, and few people were willing to accept the new boundaries created by the Revolt. In the years before the Twelve Years' Truce, southern exiles in the North became more conscious of the fact that the negotiation of an armistice or even peace between the two parties would lead to a point of no return in the course of future events. Even among the exiled wealthy Antwerp merchants for whom geographical mobility had been a fact of life for generations, the notion that their homeland would be lost forever had great effect. While this group has often been studied from an economic perspective and their motivation to leave Antwerp has often been explained by the economic decline of the Scheldt town and the attractiveness of Amsterdam, we have seen that their wish to return persisted for a long time. Their personal letters, which often express a sense of nostalgia and grief about their lost homes, show that a future return to the South was not necessarily a question of Antwerp's economy but dependent on political and religious events. For Thijs and his family, returning homewards would become an option only when their hometown was 'liberated' and their confession of faith accepted.

For others such as minister Baudartius or war veteran Duym, things were even clearer: a return was not possible as long as the South was 'under the Spanish yoke.' Their aim was to spread this message among their fellow countrymen and propagate a continuation of war that could lead to an eventual liberation of the Southern Provinces. The motivation of many northern Catholic exiles active in the Holland Mission was comparable: they wanted to bring about a 'spiritual' reconquest of their lost homes. The provinces they regarded as homelands were to be reconciled with the Old Faith. Instead of calling for military action, their strategy was to reconvert heretics and strengthen local Catholic communities.[51]

51 See for the strategies of the Holland Mission to uphold the sacramental system in the Republic: Christine Kooi, 'Paying off the sheriff. Strategies of Catholic toleration in Golden Age Holland,' in: Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop, *Calvinism and Religious Toleration the Dutch Golden Age*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 87–101.

In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the Netherlands were remapped in many respects. For a great number of people, the conclusion of the Twelve Years' Truce would define their future destination, and the choice to live in one of the newly emerging states had been made by the majority of exiles before the treaty became effective. For most of the wealthy southern merchant families in Holland, it became clear that they had to settle down in Amsterdam, Leiden and Haarlem and sell their properties in Antwerp, even though real estate prices were not attractive. For others, like Jacob Duym, the sense of belonging to their homelands was so pressing that they moved to places in the border region where they could practice their Protestant faith across the border. Duym, even before the Truce was concluded, decided that his campaign to warn of the coming peace had failed, and in 1608 he settled down in Muisbroek close to the fort of Lillo, an external bastion of the Republic, where Protestants from the surrounding countryside were able to attend Reformed services on Sunday.[52]

Exiles from both confessional and political camps continued to refer to the united 'Seventeen Netherlands' as they had existed before the Revolt had split the provinces apart. The 'common homeland' now existed only as an imaginary place in the past. In various discourses about the past, divisions in collective memories are easily detectable. For Catholics, the attachment to the Old Faith was inherent to the Netherlands and destroyed by heretics who had invaded with their ideas from abroad. In the construction of the past, as disseminated by southern Protestant exiles in the North, their homelands had always been recognizable by a sense of liberty and the maintenance of the 'word of God', as Duym tried to make clear, implying that the 'new' character of the Reformation had to be concealed.[53] By 1609, the two emerging Netherlandish states had become a 'no man's land' in which both sides claimed authority over the past. Great numbers of people from opposing camps made claims about the unity of various provinces, a unity that would never again be established.[54]

In the same year as the *Ghedenck-boeck*, Duym published another book in which he spread his belligerent message: *Oudt Batavien nu ghenaemt Holland*

52 Johan Koppenol, *Jacob Duym en de Leidse rederijkers*, in: Neerlandistiek.nl. Wetenschappelijk tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde, November 2001. (http://www.neerlandistiek.nl/?000010). See for the early modern phenomenon of *Auslauf*, the crossing of borders to attend religious services as an arrangement to avoid confessional conflicts: Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge/MA 2007, pp. 162ff.

53 Duym, *Het moordadich stuck van Balthasar Gerards*, fol. B4r.

54 See also: Pollmann, 'No Man's Land.'

('Old Batavia, now called Holland'), published under the name Saxo Grammaticus, the pseudonym of its co-author Petrus Scriverius.[55] Scriverius, who had written an antiquarian work about ancient Batavians who had presumably lived in the delta of the Rhine during the Roman occupation, had completed this book with a chronicle of the medieval counts of Holland as well as a history of the Dutch Revolt, both written by Duym. In his contribution to the work, Duym explicitly depicted the present state of the Netherlands as he saw it, and he did not miss any opportunity to point to the situation in the South, which was still overruled by foreigners. In the introduction to his chronicle of the Revolt, he explains the situation in the various provinces and divides them into two categories: under an image of the Court of Holland, he shows the coats of arms of all the 'free' provinces, while the 'overruled' provinces are listed under a depiction of the Court of Brussels. By making clear that the latter is the rightful political center of the Netherlands, he points to the provisional character of the Republic's present state.[56] Whereas in The Hague a just government rules the free provinces and the South is in the hands of strangers, the division between the two states could only be temporary: restoring the old Netherlands authority had to be reassigned to Brussels. This could, of course, only be established once the old seat of government was freed from the Spaniards. The depiction of the court of Brussels is accompanied with the following epigram:

> This noble court does still exist
> As it is depicted here,
> and praised as a royal edifice.
> Brussels, your name will be honored
> When you will truly rule yourself.[57]

Brussels does not yet rule itself but is subjected to foreign rulers: to regain its old glory it has to restore its old power by freeing itself. The imagery of exile is skillfully applied to the political situation of the Netherlands as a whole: while

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55 Grammaticus, Saxo, *Oudt Batavien nu ghenaemt Holland: hoe, ende in wat manieren, ende van wien Hollandt, Zeelandt, ende Vrieslandt eerst bewoont is gheweest*, Leiden 1606.

56 *Oudt Batavien nu ghenaemt Holland*, pp. 194, p. 196.

57 Ibid., p. 194: Dit heerlijck Hoff, is noch in wesen,
Als dit hier staet ghefigureert,
Een Coninckklijck ghebou ghepresen,
Bruessel u naem, daer door vereert,
Als ghy oprecht, u self regeert.

freedom and justice prevail under the rule of the Court of Holland, they are banished from the actual political center of the Netherlands: Brussels. Duym depicts the present state of the Netherlands as a highly paradoxical situation in which lawful authority is held by a transitory organ exiled from its original destination.

As the cases of Duym, Thijs and many other exiles show, the commemoration of the war and the lost homeland were intrinsically connected to the call for what was perceived as a restoration of the old order, a highly imaginative construction. This way of remembering implied the anticipation of a changing future and the necessity to act. A new form of memory emerged among the younger generation that had experienced the loss of their old homes at a young age or who had been born in the new host towns of their parents. Descendants of southern Netherlandish migrants born in England or Germany also had a different outlook. Among them was Jacob Celosse, who succeeded Duym as chairman of the Flemish rhetoricians chamber *De Orange Lelie*. Born in Sandwich in 1560, thirteen years after Duym, he had never lived in the homeland of his parents; Leiden was his home.[58] Under his direction, the Flemish chamber participated in festivities during the celebration of the Twelve Years' Truce and contributed verses that praised the end of war, especially in Flanders. While Flanders is still referred to as the 'fatherland' in these texts, the bond with the lost home is presented in a different light. Instead of sentimentally looking back, the migrants are warned against a nostalgia that could possibly lead to a return to the Southern Netherlands. Remigration to the homeland is presented as dangerous because of the threat of Catholicism in the South. The refugees are called to flee the Catholic 'beast' and remain steadfast in their faith and not 'break the bond' with God:

> But in this celebration,
> oh fear your God, your Lord,
> and flee the beast,
> that violates His name the most.
> And if you return
> to the fatherland,
> be mindful of the Divine creed
> that is planted into you,
> and do not let this truce
> break the bond at any price,

58 J. J. Mak, 'Jacobus Celosse, factor van de Vlaamse kamer 'in liefde groeiende' te Leiden,' in: *Jaarboek De Fonteine* (1948), p. 95.

and do not look back,
for this would be shameful and deeply sad.[59]

One generation later, the view of the past in Flanders had changed even more drastically. In 1632, Jacob van Zevecote wrote two plays on the siege of Leiden that incorporated the same elements seen in Heinsius' and Duym's works in which a choir of Flemish refugees appear. Van Zevecote, a former Augustinian monk, was born in Ghent in 1596 and migrated to Leiden in 1624 where he became a Calvinist. It was immediately clear to him that his exile would not be temporary and that with his conversion to Protestantism he had cut his ties to his past in Flanders. In his works, refugees have different outlooks than those in the plays of Vernulaeus, Heinsius and Duym. Instead of lamenting the loss of their homes, they praise their new homes and affirm their loyalty to Leiden. Addressing the 'virgin Leiden,' they proclaim:

Readily shall I leave behind
the sweet Flemish air,
that brought me into this life,
as well as all my people.
For you shall be my last drop of blood,
which nourishes and keeps me alive,
as long as I can die as your citizen.[60]

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59 *Den Nederduytschen Helicon*, Alkmaar 1610, p. 280:
Maer in dees feest // och vreest
U Godt, u Heer,
Vliedt doch het beest // 't welc meest
Schendt Godes eer,
Neemt ghy den keer
Na 't Vaderlandt,
Denckt om Gods leer,
U ingheplant,
Laet dit bestandt // den bandt
Verbreken niet,
Wat men u biedt // en siet
Niet omme: want // 't waer schand
En ziel verdriet.

60 Jacob van Zevecote, *Gedichten* (ed. Ph. Blommaert), Gent / Rotterdam 1840, p. 233 (*Belech van Leyden*):
Ick sal de soete Vlaemsche locht,
Die my in 't leven heeft gebrocht,
En al mijn volck gewillich derven,

For five pages Leiden is praised while Flanders is addressed only occasionally. At the same time, the past of the Flemish refugees is presented as a victorious history: they sacrificed their wealth and left their country behind but were rewarded with a new home. While they first had to endure Spanish cruelties, they witnessed the downfall of their enemies during the relief of Leiden where they could now live in peace, 'delivered from bloodshed and Spanish tyranny.'[61]

The outlook of most refugees of the second generation had changed: the immediacy of their parents' sense of the past had vanished and made room for a rather 'cold memory' that no longer called for action but told them who they were in their new host societies. This way of remembering did not necessarily diminish the importance of the past but led to a form of commemoration that provided the descendants with a narrative about themselves, and also allowed them to relate to their new neighbors in different ways. The waning of an immediate 'hot memory' did not imply oblivion but a change in the meanings and functions of exile memories. The exile past of their parents had become a consolidated narrative that provided them with a legimitate status as newcomers.

Voor u sal sijn het leste bloet,
Dat my bewaert en leven doet
Is 't dat ick mach uw borger sterven.'

61 Ibid., p. 232: Daer wy verlost van moordery,
En van de Spaensche tyranny
Met ruste sullen mogen leven [. . .].

CHAPTER 3

Strangers, Burghers, Patriots

Re-Imagining Southern Netherlandish Identity in the Exile Towns

While many refugees from the Southern Netherlands hoped to return once their hometowns were recaptured by the States Army, these hopes evaporated after the military stalemate and the ensuing Twelve Years' Truce. Many realized that the exile towns in Holland, the Holy Roman Empire and England would now be their permanent homes. Their willingness to stay and participate in local life and politics was not always rewarded, however, and, due to the independent political orientation of the various Dutch provinces, southern immigrants were sometimes regarded as 'foreigners' and excluded from political participation. Refugees could also become targets of strong anti-immigrant sentiment and rhetoric. In the refugee towns outside the Low Countries, such reactions were even more common since the immigrants could not refer to a shared 'national' bond or a common past. Instead, refugees often pointed to the shared religious allegiance or the common political enemy, Spain, from which they had escaped. As Heinz Schilling has demonstrated, the religious factor was of crucial importance for the degree of acceptance granted to migrants from the Netherlands in their new host towns.[1]

Southern Netherlandish exiles often experienced hostility from their new neighbors in England, Germany and the Dutch Republic. This was especially the case during periods of political and religious conflict, such as the troubles that led to the dismissal of the Earl of Leicester as Governor General of the Netherlands in the 1580s, or the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–1618). In both cases, immigrants from the Southern Netherlands were often associated with Calvinist radicalism and attacked in pamphlets, songs and other popular writings. In exile towns outside the Netherlands, migrants sometimes had to cope with xenophobic sentiments too, especially in England in the late sixteenth century. This chapter will explore the position of Southern Netherlandish refugees in their new homes and the role of memory both in conflicts between natives and immigrants and in processes of incorporation of migrants into local communities. The antagonism between local populations in Holland and migrants from Flanders and Brabant has become a topos not only in seventeenth-century

1 Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten*, pp. 164–166.

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pamphlets and popular print but also in modern historiography.[2] However, on the basis of a close reading of these sources, I want to argue that pointing to migrants as the main agents behind social unrest was mainly a rhetorical tactic deployed sometimes by migrants themselves, rather than an expression of a deep and permanent gap between natives and aliens.

On the basis of stereotypes that were sometimes constructed in pamphlets and popular literature, modern scholars have often reproduced an assumed cultural contrast between a Netherlandish culture that divided Holland natives from Flemish and Brabant newcomers. As Jan Briels writes:

> That in regard to their culture, the Northern Netherlanders had always been inferior to Brabant and Flanders, which overshadowed all other parts of the Netherlands before 1572, had left its traces in the minds of the Hollanders, who had to look up to the rich South for a long time without being able to bring a substantial change to this situation.[3]

This rather essentialist view of the relationship between the inhabitants of the Northern and Southern Provinces has often been used to explain the growing political and cultural divergence between the two societies during the Dutch Revolt and the position of southern migrants in the North. This chapter will offer an alternative interpretation of anti-immigrant arguments that were used during times of conflict, such as the troubles between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants during the Twelve Years' Truce. Instead of beginning with an examination of the principled difference between Southern and Northern Netherlandish cultures, it might be fruitful to take a closer look at the production of these assumed differences in popular discourse and the construction of images of southern identity. As a more thorough examination of these identity constructs shows, stereotypes about radical Calvinist Flemings and Brabanders, on one side, and native Hollanders with only lukewarm sympathies for Reformed confessionalism, on the other, did not so much reflect

2 Asaert, *1585. De val van Antwerpen*, pp. 28off.; Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie. 1572–1620*, pp. 65f.

3 J. Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem omstreeks 1572–1630. Met een keuze van archivalische gegevens*, Utrecht 1976, pp. 39f.: 'Dat de Noord-Nederlanders in cultureel opzicht altijd de mindere waren geweest van Brabant en Vlaanderen, die vóór 1572 alle overige delen van Nederland in betekenis verre overschaduwden, had niet nagelaten zijn sporen in de Hollandse geesten achter te laten, die al lang hadden moeten kijken naar het rijke zuiden zonder voorlopig bij machte te zijn in de situatie substantieel verandering te brengen.' See also: J. *Briels*, 'Brabantse *blaaskaak* en Hollandse botmuil. Cultuurontwikkelingen in Holland in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw,' in: *De zeventiende eeuw* 1/1 (1985), pp. 12–36.

socio-historical circumstances but were part of often inconsistent discourses on what constituted Netherlandish identity and what could be used as arguments in political and religious debates.[4] Collective memory played an essential role in these arguments, and the history of the early phase of the Dutch Revolt as well as the migration of Protestants from Flanders and Brabant were iconic episodes that were often recalled in the discussion of the present state of politics and religion. However, during conflicts in which an aggressive anti-immigrant rhetoric was employed, the lines between migrants and locals were often blurred so that identifying radical Calvinism with 'foreigners' often proved useful to Remonstrants or Mennonites, possibly migrants from Flanders themselves, in bolstering their arguments against their adversaries. In reaction to such claims and identifications, memories of flight and persecution were used to incorporate migrant history and identity into the memory canons of host societies. As we will see later in this chapter, memories of the early Dutch Revolt also served to strengthen ties between migrants and locals. As many migrant authors suggested, the past united rather than separated newcomers and natives, and the deliberate choice to settle down in a new town and their gratitude for the hospitality of locals made the migrants self-proclaimed loyal citizens.

The Social and Political Position of Southern Migrants in the Dutch Republic

Even if the exclusion of migrants from social life and public offices in the Dutch Republic is sometimes exaggerated in modern scholarly literature, Flemings and Brabanders certainly encountered difficulties if they wanted to participate in local politics between 1587 and 1618. Their host towns had legal grounds to exclude them from office and sometimes even from full citizenship. The reasons for these restrictions were older than the Dutch Revolt and the mass migration it had brought about. All polities and regions in the Netherlands had traditionally cultivated a strong provincial outlook with historical roots that dated back to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century resistance against the centralization politics of the Low Countries under the Burgund and Habsburg

4 The distinction between two fundamentally different types of religiosity that divided Southern and Northern Netherlandish Protestants is for a great part due to the influence of the seminal work of H. A. Enno van Gelder. (H. A. Enno van Gelder, *Revolutionnaire reformatie. De vestiging van de Gereformeerde Kerk in de Nederlandse gewesten, gedurende de eerste jaren van de opstand tegen Filips II, 1575–1585*, Amsterdam 1943.)

authorities. While the Grand Privilege of 1477 had already excluded foreigners from political offices in various provinces, Flemings and Brabanders were still able to enter the Court of Holland, especially in the early sixteenth century when the Grand Privilege was no longer binding.[5] Until the 1540s there were no formal grounds on which to exclude persons from other provinces from provincial politics, but in the mid-sixteenth century the situation changed and provincial governments sought to introduce measures against the appointment of foreigners. Ironically, this practice did not have its origins in the North but in the South. In 1545 the central government appointed Antwerp merchant Jacob Grammary as revenue officer in Holland and simultaneously issued a privilege for the States of Brabant that allowed them to exclude 'strangers' from public offices.[6] The States of Holland tried immediately to get a similar privilege, but were denied. Less than ten years later, however, a new request from Holland was granted, and Holland was allowed to exclude Brabanders, while natives of Flanders and Mechelen could still be appointed.[7]

In daily practice, the right to exclude foreigners was not applied as strictly as would legally have been possible. In the early phase of the Dutch Revolt, between the 1560s and the mid-1580s, political participation of newcomers was not uncommon and, surprisingly, many Southerners were elected to the rebel city councils and magistracies of Holland and Zeeland. In the magistrates of Flushing and Middelburg and in the provincial government of Zeeland, Flemings and Brabanders were quite well represented. Johan Nicolai, former burgomaster of Brussels, was appointed as secretary of the States of Zeeland and was even recommended as having 'fled hither because of his great piety.'[8] Southerners in Holland towns were not able to enter the magistracies until the late 1580s.[9]

The situation changed in 1586 when Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, became Governor General of the Northern Netherlands after the assassination of William of Orange. Dudley, who lacked the sensitivity to deal with

5 Serge te Brake, *Met macht en rekenschap. De ambtenaren bij het Hof van Holland en de Haagse Rekenkamer in de Habsburgse Tijd*, Hilversum 2007, p. 128.

6 Joop Koopmans, 'Vreemdelingen in Hollandse dienst 1545–1588. Opmerkingen bij het werk van Briels' in: A. H. Huussen, W. E. Krul en E. Ch. L. van der Vliet (eds.), *Vreemdelingen. Ongewenst en bemind*, Groningen 1991, p. 38.

7 Jan den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt*, Haarlem 1960–1972 (5 vols), vol. 1, p. 20.

8 See e.g. Briels, *De Zuid-Nederlandse immigratie*, p. 79.

9 For a list of southern migrants in the magistrates of Holland and Zeeland as well as in the States General, see: J. A. Grothe, 'Brieven van Gerard Prouninck,' in: *Kronyk van het Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht* 3e serie, dl. 1 (1855), pp. 235–236 and Koopmans, 'Vreemdelingen in Hollandse dienst.' pp. 41–43.

the strong provincial traditions and privileges, soon became entangled in a series of conflicts with local regents and magistrates, particularly in Holland and Utrecht. As a result, he sought allies outside these circles and found them among a number of exiled patricians from the Southern Netherlands who sympathized with orthodox Calvinism. When conflicts between liberal Protestants and orthodox Calvinists escalated in Utrecht in 1586, Leicester intervened and purged the city council to install a new magistrate that mainly consisted of Reformed regents, including many exiles from Brabant and Flanders such as Gerard Prouninck, who became second burgomaster of Utrecht.[10] When Leicester left the Netherlands in 1587, the appointments of the 'foreigners' he had installed were undone, and from then on Southerners were more structurally denied access to public offices in Holland and Utrecht. The association of radical Calvinism with 'strangers' from Brabant and Flanders was reinforced by an attempted coup in Leiden where a number of Calvinists, including the Flemish theologian Adrianus Saravia, tried to bring the town under Leicester's control and purge the magistrate of Libertine elements.[11] Three Flemings were executed and a number of other conspirators were condemned to death in absentia and fled with Saravia to England where the latter had lived after his flight from Antwerp in 1585. These events remained present in collective memory and were often used to identify Southerners as radicals who needed to be excluded from political office. While the Leicester faction indeed consisted of many Calvinist Flemings and Brabanders, and the conflict is often depicted in modern scholarly literature as between migrants and natives, we should not forget that many of the town magistrates who supported Dudley did not contain newcomers. Among the strongholds of Leicester were not only all the towns in Frisia with the exception of Franeker but also all the Holland towns north of Amsterdam and Haarlem: Alkmaar, Hoorn and Enkhuizen, as well as various smaller municipalities.[12] None of these places had seen any substantial influx of southern refugees.

The iconic image of the Leicester troubles as a clash between natives and strangers should therefore be regarded as a discursive product of the conflict itself. Anti-Calvinists denounced their enemies as 'foreigners' and fashioned themselves as natives adhering to their local traditions and liberties. That phenomenon had already been noted by Pieter de la Court who, in 1659, more

10 See: F. G. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands, 1586–1587*, Utrecht 1988, p. 118; Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines. Confession and Community in Utrecht 1578–1620*, Oxford 1995, p. 175.

11 Willem Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia* (*ca. 1532–1613*), Leiden 1980, p. 102.

12 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 228, 229.

than seventy years after the events, wrote that the involvement of 'a few' Flemings had given the local Libertine regents the opportunity to depict the entire conflict as a rebellion of foreigners and to exclude them from political power. Fortunately, this exclusion was due only to the 'arbitrary' reasoning of elite members and did not become a formalized prescription so that De la Court still harbored hopes of a political career.[13] Even if the participation of Southerners in Holland and Utrecht politics declined for a longer period, De la Court was right. While a number of Southerners managed to keep their offices after the Leicester period, such as the Brabander Nicasius de Sille who remained pensionary of Amsterdam until his death in 1601, it became easier for them to enter politics after the Twelve Years' Truce.[14] In 1606 Brabander Jan Jansz. Teyts was elected to the magistrate of Haarlem, and after the triumph of the Counter-Remonstrant party in 1618, others followed.[15] While the exclusion of foreigners was consequently effected only between the Leicester coup and the end of the Twelve Years' Truce, the image of rebellious Flemings and Brabanders remained a part of collective memory and was raised when deemed appropriate.

Leiden and Haarlem as Exile Towns

The two most important textile towns of Holland were Leiden and Haarlem, which had the highest percentage of migrants from Flanders and Brabant by the end of the sixteenth century. The new industries were, to a great extent, built by migrants from the wartorn South, and attracted increasing numbers of newcomers. The two towns became centers of conflict between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, who identified one another as 'strangers' trying to disturb the local peace. The religious conflict, which had originated in an academic theological dispute between Leiden professors Jacobus Arminius of Holland and Franciscus Gomarus, a Fleming, was presented in many pamphlets as a conflict between native Hollanders and Flemish newcomers.[16]

13 Pieter de la Court, *Het welvaren van Leiden. Handschrift uit het jaar 1659* (ed. F. Driessen), The Hague 1911, p. 6.

14 For De Sille (or Van der Sille), see: Willem Frijhoff, Maarten Prak e.a. *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, vol. 2, Amsterdam 2004, p. 284; Grothe, 'Brieven van Gerard Prouninck,' p. 236.

15 Van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen*, p. 315.

16 Ibid., p. 314.

In both towns, migrants from the South played crucial roles in the development of local industry. After 1577, when Haarlem had taken the side of the Dutch rebels, the North Holland town became the destination of great numbers of immigrants from the Southern Netherlands, such as linen weavers and yarn bleachers from West Flanders and merchants from Antwerp. Haarlem's siege and capture by the Spaniards in 1573, followed by a devastating fire in 1576, had left the city desolate.[17] Labor and capital from the Southern Netherlands were welcomed, and migrants helped to rebuild the town and stimulate the local production and trade of linen, beer and other commodities. Although exact numbers are unascertainable, the proportion of Southerners among the Haarlem populace must have been tremendously high; during the main period of immigration until 1622, the population grew from eighteen thousand to forty thousand.[18] Scholars who have studied southern exiles in the Northern Provinces during the Dutch Revolt assume that about half of Haarlem's inhabitants in the early seventeenth century were of Flemish or Brabantine descent.[19] Most of the immigrants were refugees from wartorn parts of Flanders where violence and destruction had made life impossible, or inhabitants of the southern Calvinist republics conquered by Parma's armies in the early to mid 1580's. Others had not directly fled to Haarlem but had first settled in England or the German Empire and later moved to North Holland, such as large groups of textile workers from Goch. Particularly in the first decades after their arrival, refugees formed a close and clearly recognizable group, living in the 'Flemish Quarter' with their own bakers, shopkeepers and midwives.[20] They founded a Flemish chamber of rhetoric, and those who were not Dutch-speaking Calvinists established separate Mennonite, Lutheran and Walloon Reformed churches, the latter in close alliance with the Dutch Reformed congregation.

Even though Leiden became the most important textile town in the Dutch Republic, its situation after the Habsburg campaigns into Holland differed in many aspects from that of Haarlem. While Haarlem had been severely damaged during the siege, Leiden, which was besieged a year later, emerged triumphantly, an event that led to a vivid culture of civic commemoration that would prevail for centuries.[21] Despite Leiden's victory, the city lost a substantial

17 See for an overview: G. van der Ree-Scholtens, *Deugd boven geweld. Een geschiedenis van Haarlem, 1245–1995*, Hilversum 1995.

18 Briels, *Zuidnederlanders in de Republiek*, p. 19.

19 Ibid.

20 Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, p. 19.

21 Judith Pollmann, *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten. Het beleg en ontzet van Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw* (3 oktoberlezing 2008), Leiden 2008; Johan Koppenol, *Het Leids ontzet. 3 oktober 1574 door de ogen van tijdgenoten* (Amsterdam 2002).

part of its population, and both towns had to be repopulated and rebuilt. The possibility of recruiting Flemish textile workers was soon discovered, and from the late 1570s onwards the Leiden magistrate made contracts with exiles from Colchester and allowed them to settle in Leiden.[22] In 1591 the town authorities created a new settlement for newcomers working in the textile industry in Maredorp, a town quarter north of the Rhine River, which became a typical Flemish neighborhood. Even though the percentage of Flemings and Brabanders seems to have been lower than in Haarlem, Leiden's spectacular population growth between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was due to numerous southern migrants.[23] As in Haarlem, the refugees established their own institutions including a social welfare system and a chamber of rhetoric, which was originally set up for Flemings but also had Brabant members such as the aforementioned Jacob Duym, who acted as chairman. In the Dutch Reformed Church as well as in various minority churches, Southerners were well represented and able to exercise influence.

In both towns the great masses of southern refugees were often identified with the Reformed Church, especially its more orthodox branches, even if many migrants, especially in Haarlem, were in fact Mennonites. To be sure, in the early seventeenth century the membership of the Reformed Church consisted largely of Flemings and Brabanders because of the reluctance of the local populations of many Holland towns to officially become church members.[24] Especially among Reformed elders and deacons, Southerners were strongly represented. Since it was difficult for them to participate in the politics of their new towns, influence in the Church was an attractive alternative. In order to prevent an overrepresentation of migrants among elders and deacons, the Reformed congregations of Leiden and Haarlem limited their participation to one half of the consistories while the other half was required to be Hollanders.[25] This strong representation of Flemish and Brabant migrants made it easy for adversaries of the Reformed Church to attack it for consisting primarily of

22 Johan Koopenol, *Leids heelal. Het Loterijspel (1596) van Jan van Hout*, Hilversum 1998, p. 29; Dirk Jaap Noordam, 'Demografische ontwikkelingen,' in: Simon Groenveld (ed.), *Leiden. De geschiedenis van een Hollandse stad 2 1574–1795*, Leiden 2003, pp. 42–53; Dirk Jaap Noordam, *Geringde buffels en heren van stand: het patriciaat van Leiden, 1574–1700*, Hilversum 1994, p. 9.

23 Noordam, 'Demografische ontwikkelingen'; Dirk Jaap Noordam, 'Leiden als ideale stad,' in: Juliette Roding, Agnes Sneller and Boukje Thijs (eds.), *Beelden van Leiden: zelfbeeld en representatie van een Hollandse stad in de vroegmoderne tijd*, Hilversum 2006, pp. 15–35.

24 Van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen*, p. 90; Duke, 'The Ambivalent Face of Dutch Calvinism,' pp. 291ff.

25 Noord-Hollands Archief, Stadsarchief Haarlem. Raad inv.nr. 462 (1611–1635). I am grateful to Marianne Eekhout for this reference.

'foreigners' who tried to stir up coreligionists against other groups, such as Mennonites and Remonstrants.

During the troubles of the Twelve Years' Truce this strategy was often employed. The conflict, which had started in 1604 as a controversy between two Leiden professors concerning the nature of godly predestination, almost led to a civil war in the Dutch Republic in the late 1610s. While the Remonstrants, sympathizers of Jacobus Arminius who nuanced John Calvin's ideas on predestination and emphasized the role of the individual's acceptance of God's grace, were backed by the States of Holland and the province's land advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, orthodox Calvinists became increasingly dissatisfied. In many Holland towns, Counter-Remonstrants refused to attend sermons of 'Arminian' ministers and gathered in private houses and other buildings.[26] The conflict escalated until stadholder Maurice of Nassau chose the side of the Counter-Remonstrants in 1618. Oldenbarnevelt was arrested in August and tried for high treason in 1619, while many city councils were purged of Remonstrant sympathizers. Years before the intervention of the stadholder, libertines, Remonstrants and Mennonites had already labeled Haarlem's and Leiden's orthodox Calvinists as 'Flemish' radicals who wished to turn their towns into 'new Genevas' where dissenting beliefs would not be tolerated. These accusations were spread in pamphlets, songs and other media that often referred to the migrant past and stimulated the recollection of memories of the early period of the Dutch Revolt, which was to play an important role in the conflict, as we will see below.

Haarlem and the Memory of the London Martyrs

In 1618, the Reformed Church in Haarlem found itself in trouble. The escalating tensions between Remonstrants and Calvinists had left deep splits in its congregational life: a majority of the church members had publicly manifested their dissent with the libertine elements in church and magistrate, and some parents refused to let their children be baptized in services led by Remonstrant or even moderate Calvinist ministers.[27] Polemical pamphlets on both sides had provoked a nasty conflict that led to the banishment of five people from the city by the magistrate.[28] However, intra-confessional disputes

26 See e.g.: Van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen*, pp. 252, 267.

27 Noord-Hollands Archief, Acta van de kerkeraad van de Hervormde Kerk te Haarlem, January 7, 1618.

28 Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, p. 220.

among the Reformed were not the only causes of unease; adherents of other denominations also had a hand in confessional polemics. The descendants of two Flemish Mennonite artisans executed in London forty-three years earlier accused Calvinists of sharing responsibility for the deaths of their ancestors.[29] When the London Mennonites had been examined by Bishop Grindal in 1575, several members of the local Dutch Reformed Church had acted as translators and tried to convert the 'heretics' to the 'true Christian Religion.'[30] Fearing unrest among the religious exiles in the city, the magistrate had forced all exiles to sign a declaration that affirmed the authority of the bishop of London to punish heretics.[31] In the eyes of many, not only Mennonites, signing the declaration was a sign of Calvinist complicity in the executions.

The memory of the London martyrs would remain a contentious issue between Mennonites and Calvinists both in England and on the continent for decades to come. A few months after the execution, members of the Dutch Reformed congregation in London were accused of being 'inquisitors and persecutors.' Two years later the Reformed stranger church in Frankenthal near Heidelberg reported similar experiences with local Anabaptists.[32] In 1576, the issue led to a split within the Antwerp Church 'under the cross.' Many of the stricter members of the congregation were upset by rumors from England, and a number became Mennonites because they believed Mennonites lived a much godlier life than Calvinists, whose consistory was full of 'drunkards and adulterers.'[33] Two young members of the Reformed consistory, Elder Hans de Ries and Deacon Albrecht Verspeck, who propagated a church discipline much stricter than that practiced in any Calvinist church, became followers of Menno and eventually notable leaders of the Waterlander Mennonite communities in the Northern Netherlands. De Ries, who advocated severe penalties such as public repentance and collective shunning even when dealing with issues traditionally treated as *adiaphora*, played a decisive role in the

29 Symeon Ruytinck, *Gheschiedenissen ende Handelingen, die voornemelick aengaen de Nederduytsche natie ende gemeynten, wonende in Engelant ende int bysonder tot Londen*, ed. J. J. van Toorenbergen, III, dl. I, Utrecht 1873, p. 314.

30 Hans de Ries and Jacques Outerman, *Historie der waarachtighe getuygen Jesu Christi. Die de evangelische waerheyt in veelderley tormenten betuycht ende met haer bloet bevesticht hebben sint het jaer 1524 tot desen tyt toe*, Hoorn 1617, p. 706.

31 Ibid., p. 707.

32 Alastair Duke, 'Martyrs with a Difference: Dutch Anabaptist Victims of Elizabethan Persecution,' in: Alastair Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, Farnham 2009, p. 212.

33 Guido Marnef, 'De gereformeerde wortels van twee Waterlandse leiders. Hans de Ries en Albrecht Verspeck,' in: *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 21 (1995), p. 18.

commemoration of the London martyrs. When in 1589 Rotterdam Calvinist elder Pieter de Bisschop suggested that the London Mennonites had been executed because of their rebellious attitude and for insulting Queen Elizabeth, de Ries published a rebuttal in which he tried to defend the honor of his coreligionists; referring to the canonical *non poena sed causa* doctrine, he argued that his London brothers were true martyrs—they had not been killed for lèse-majesté and insurgence but for the sake of faith.[34]

In 1615, three years before the descendants of the martyrs came into conflict with the Reformed Church in Haarlem, de Ries and another Flemish coreligionist, Haarlem elder Jacques Outerman, had published the so-called Haarlem martyrology, or *De Historie der martelaren*, a work often reprinted and re-edited under different titles.[35] It treated the case of the London martyrs at length and documented with an extensive range of source material. De Ries must have been well informed about the executions during his time as a Calvinist; in the 1576 correspondence between congregations in London and Antwerp both the cases of the London Mennonites and the quarrels with de Ries and Verspeck were discussed.[36] Many of the sources de Ries used were accessible to him only as someone who had belonged to Reformed circles, such as the letter from Calvinist refugee Jacques de Somere to his mother in Ghent.[37] This letter was later reprinted in all other Mennonite martyrologies throughout the seventeenth century and became one of the main sources about martyrs. If anyone accusing the Reformed church in Haarlem forgot details about their ancestors, they could look them up in de Ries and Outerman's book.

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34 Hans de Ries, '"Verthoon van verschejden onwaerheden." Ingeleid en voor uitgave gereedgemaakt door Piet Visser,' in: *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 11(1985), p. 160.

35 Hans de Ries and Jacques Outerman, *Historie der martelaren, ofte waerachtighe getuygen Iesu Christi die d'Evangelische waerheyt in veelderley tormenten betuygt ende met haer bloet bevesticht hebben sint het jaer 1524 tot desen tyt toe*, Haarlem 1615. The Hoorn martyrology from 1617 (*Historie Der Warachtighe getuygen Jesu Christi*, Hoorn 1617) is actually another edition of de Ries and Outerman's work. The book was not uncontroversial in Mennonite circles since the various cases were harmonized in accordance with the theology of the Waterlanders. The doctrine of incarnation as proclaimed in the martyrs' quotes in the Haarlem martyrology became a particularly contentious issue between Waterlander and Flemish Mennonites. See: Gregory, *Salvation at stake*, pp. 241f.

36 J. H. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavum archivum*, Cambridge 1887–97, II, pp. 530, 536, 552f., 554f.

37 De Ries and Outerman, *Historie der martelaren, ofte Waerachtighe getuygen Iesu Christi*, pt. 3, pp. 28ff.

Remembering Flemish Radicalism

Another Mennonite attack against the Reformed Church and, in particular, the Counter-Remonstrant party, depicted as consisting exclusively of southern exiles, came with Marijn de Brauwer's 1618 pamphlet *Eenvuldighe waerschouwinghe aen de gevluchte vreemdelinghen* ('Simple warning to the fled strangers'). De Brauwer, himself a refugee from West Flanders, accused his Calvinist fellow countrymen of living like parasites among the citizens of Haarlem—instead of being grateful for the patience and tolerance they had enjoyed for almost forty years, they tried to overrule the natives and impose their own rules.[38] In the days of persecution they had been welcomed in Holland as refugees, but now they themselves acted as persecutors. The central arguments of De Brauwer's pamphlet refer to memories from the South and the first period of migration to Haarlem. The true nature of the Calvinists had already been visible back in Flanders; wherever they had become powerful, they had tried to 'kindle the fire of Geneva' and sought to persecute and expel those they called heretics. If the Calvinists were to seize power in Holland, they would act 'as they had done in Ypres.'[39] Apparently the mere reference to that city was enough—explanations of what actually happened under Calvinist rule there in the 1580s are absent from De Brauwer's text. The collective memory of the Haarlem exile community was vivid enough to make clear that he was referring to the expulsion of Mennonites and Catholics from Ypres during the siege by the Habsburg armies. The events in the Flemish Calvinist republics of the 1580s were notorious, and the former inhabitants frequently found themselves under attack in Haarlem. The magistrates of the southern rebel towns, especially Ghent, had come into conflict with William of Orange in the late 1570s because of their strict religious policies, and were accused of hindering the Revolt against the Habsburgs with their radicalism.[40] In 1587, exiles from Ghent were labeled as 'noose-bearers, image-breakers, chalice-thieves and traitors to their fatherland.'[41] The insulting nickname 'noose-bearers' (*stropdragers*) was an old designation for citizens of Ghent since, following a 1540 revolt, Charles V had deprived the town of all privileges, and the city's magistrates were forced to repent with nooses

38 Marijn de Brauwer, *t' Werck van M. de Brouwer, ghenaemt eenvuldighe waerschouwinghe aen de gevluchte vreemdelinghen, haer radende hunne magistraten* (*die haer ontfanghen ende beschermt hebben*) *te gehoorzamen, ende de wel-daden te gedincken die sy deur haer genoten hebben.*, Haarlem 1618, fol. A1r.

39 Ibid., fol. A2r.

40 Swart, *Willem van Oranje en de Nederlandse Opstand*, pp. 152–155.

41 Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, p. 110.

around their necks. In 1597 the insults were repeated, and Ghent refugees in Haarlem were again confronted with accusations of Calvinist radicalism and rioting.[42] References to the Calvinist Republics that had existed between 1578 and 1585 in Ghent, Antwerp and Mechelen were widely recognized—their memory belonged to the common knowledge in the cities of the North.

Replies to the 1618 pamphlet followed immediately. In the same year various anonymous Counter-Remonstrants had tried to counter De Brauwer's allegations. The author of *Het loon van den Brouwer*, 'The reward of De Brouwer,' tried to dismiss the allegations of the Mennonite author by simply pretending to be uninformed about the events in Ypres:

> He [De Brauwer] mentions an incident that took place in Ypres, but he does not tell what happened, when it took place and who was responsible. He blames the strangers who fled here for it, but it is better to believe that the town council was responsible and not the refugees, if the incident took place at all.[43]

A few sentences later the anonymous author appears to know much more about the case than he had pretended. He counters De Brauwer's arguments by referring to Munster where everyone dissatisfied with the Anabaptist leaders was banned from the city:

> But that is what your Munsteran fanatics did, when they chased out of town all those who did not belong to your sect, the bad as well as the good.[44]

Driving non-Calvinists out of town was exactly the accusation that De Brauwer had leveled at the Reformed. This argument was clearly understandable, and by mentioning Munster as a counter-example, the author of *Het loon van den Brouwer* proved himself informed about the case. In 1578, Ypres had become a

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42 Ibid., p. 112.

43 *Het loon van den Brouwer, voor zijn werck t' onrecht ghenaemt, Eenvuldighe waerschouwinge, aen de ghevluchte vreemdelingen*, Haarlem(?) 1618, fol. 8: 'Hy (De Brauwer) seydt voorts dat tot Iperen yet gheschiedt te zijn, doch verhaeldt niet wat, oock niet wanneer, ofte aen wie, 't welck hy oock de ghevluchte vreemdelinghen te laste leyt, doch tis beter te ghelooven, indien daer yet gheschiedt is, dat d'Overheyt van Yperen daer aen schuldich is, ende niet de ghevluchte vreemdelinghen.'

44 Ibid.: 'Maer u Munstersche sulccx toonden, als den verwoede, want die van hoere Sect niet was 'tsy quaet of goede jaechdemen ter Stadt uyt.'

Calvinist Republic, and only a few months after the regime change Catholicism was banned. The new regime would last only five years—after the Duke of Parma's siege in 1583, the town had to surrender, and many of its inhabitants fled northwards. The last years of Calvinist rule had been devastating. Struck by famine and plague, the townspeople were also confronted with thousands of refugees from the surrounding rural areas where continuous warfare had created a state of virtual anarchy.[45] To control immigration under these severe conditions, the magistrate had ordered all refugee families without provisions for at least three months to leave Ypres. Those who resisted would violently 'be led out of the town and treated as rebels.'[46] During the siege the measures became more and more draconian, and when winter drew near, great numbers of people, most of them Catholics, were sent away. In December 1583, Ypres citizen Augustijn van Hernighem noticed that again many strangers were to be expelled—even though 'their crying and weeping was so pitiful,' they were forced to depart. On Christmas Eve a large convoy left for Bruges.[47]

The lore of the Ypres banishments traveled northwards with the fugitives and quickly spread among the exile communities in the Republic. Pretending to be ignorant of the events, as the author of *Het loon van den Brouwer* ('The reward of De Brauwer') had attempted, did not prove adequate for countering the charges. A second strategy seemed more successful: in another pamphlet from 1618, the *Vrevghden-ghesanck over de schoone veranderinghen in't vrye Nederlandt* ('Joyful song on the changes in the free Netherlands'), De Brauwer's accusations were not denied but turned around. Apparently the Counter-Remonstrant pamphleteer did know much more than De Brauwer or any other author suggested: the Ypres banishments were directly targeted at Anabaptists. The town magistrates had no choice other than to expel these dissenters. Had they only been as rebellious as 'their brothers,' the Anabaptists of Munster, Ypres could at least have been defended, but they refused to take up arms against the besiegers. Expelling them was therefore a necessary measure:

> The king [John of Leyden] wanted to recklessly
> reestablish the New Jerusalem,
> but consider how unworthy your brothers

45 Briels, *Zuidnederlanders in de Republiek*, p. 35.

46 F. van de Putte (ed.), *Nederlandsche Historie door Augustijn van Hermelghem* 1, Gent 1864, p. 89. I am aware of the many shortcomings of this edition, but was not able to consult the original manuscript. For a brief discussion of Van de Putte's edition, see: Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, p. 204.

47 Ibid., pp. 272, 275.

were behaving there in Ypres,
when there was an order that each
should keep watch and be ready
to withstand the enemy bravely.
But those who refused to do so
were forced to leave the town,
Which was a just measure for the sake of its defense
and which warns and exhorts us today,
when we plainly write this down.
Your wealth incites you and thus you become reckless.'[48]

Instead of a defensive approach, the Reformed pamphleteer chose a frontal attack against the Mennonite who had charged Calvinists with persecuting members of other confessions—he proclaimed that the magistrate of Ypres had been right to expel the Mennonites. The radicalism of Calvinist Flemish cities in the early 1580s remained an issue that could not be ignored. Its memory stirred up fear of Reformed confessionalism and threatened to undermine the self-perception of Calvinists who prided themselves on suffering for their faith's sake under the Catholic Habsburg regime. Since any effort to deny the Flemish past did not prove effective, the pamphleteer chose a counter-attack—it was the disloyalty of the Mennonite heretics that made confessional cleansing necessary.

Rich or Poor Immigrants?

The last lines of the *Vrevghden-ghesanck*, '*De weelde steeckt u selfs, dies wordt ghy dertelmoedich*' ('Your wealth incites you and thus you become reckless'),

48 *Vrevghden-ghesanck over de schoone veranderinghen in't vrye Nederlandt, door het kloeck beleyt der Staten Generael, met het edele huys van Nassovwe*, Amsterdam 1618, B3r:
Den Coninck wilde 't nieu Jerusalem lichtveerdich
Weder op rechten gaen, ghedenckt hoe oock onweerdich
U broeders hielden haer, als 't Yper wert ghedaen,
Een ghebodt dat elck sou in wacht en rondt volheerdich
Zijn, om den vyandt soo kloeck'lijck te wederstaen,
Die sulcks niet wilde doen moeste ter Stadt uyt gaen,
'Twelck was ooc billijck recht tot Stadts verstercking spoedich
Ons die d' eenvuldich schrijft waerschuwingh of vermaen,
De weelde steeckt u selfs, dies wordt ghy dertelmoedich.

echo the refrain of De Brauwer's pamphlet: '*Wat stercke benen zijn't, die weelde connen draghen*' ('It takes strong legs to carry wealth').[49] The Mennonite pamphleteer referred not only to the past in Flanders to reinforce his argument but also to the situation in Haarlem 'thirty-eight years ago' when great numbers of refugees from the South had arrived:

> You strange nation of Flemings and Brabanders
> who spread an evil rumor among the Hollanders,
> how glad were you then, when you found such supporters,
> when you were frightened and terrified
> of the murderers and executioners?
> Penniless, robbed and naked have you fled your homeland
> to the garden of Holland, where you have lived free from threat
> for a long time, and without any reason to complain.
> The good magistrates, whom you owe so much,
> Have tolerated you for thirty-eight years now.
> You were able to gather with an untroubled mind,
> in your churches and your homes, and no one took offense.
> And when first you came here, I have to add,
> You were in a miserable state, but found comfort in your need:
> You were brought up like a child in his mother's bosom.
> You have no reason to complain about the magistrate,
> and your complaints grew out of haughtiness
> rather than of poverty,
> it takes strong legs to carry wealth.[50]

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49 De Brauwer, *Eenvuldighe waerschouwinghe aen de gevluchte vreemdelinghen*, fol. A1r. De Brauwer's motto 'Wat stercke benen zijn't, die weelde connen draghen' was later also used in the painting *Allegory of Wealth* by Brabant refugee Adriaen van de Venne (Laurens J. Bol, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne. Painter and Draughtsman*, Doornspijk 1989, p. 95).

50 Ibid.: Ghy vreemde nacy, van Vlamingen en Brabanders
Die nu by de Hollanders, maken een quaet gerucht,
Hoe blyde waert gy doen, gy vont sulcke voorstanders
Als gy verschrict verbaest, voor die moorders en branders
Beroyt, berooft, en naeckt, zijt uyt u Lant ghevlucht
In den hollantschen Thuyn, aldaer ghy sonder ducht
Langhe tijdt hebt gewoont, sonder eenich bezwaren:
Die goede Magistraet, ghy wel bedancken meucht,
Ghy sijt by haer gedult, wel achtendertich Jaren:
Ghy hebt met vry gemoedt, by een mogen vergaren,

According to De Brauwer, the Calvinist strangers owed everything to the native Haarlemmers and the city's magistrate. When they had arrived, they had had nothing and had been nurtured by the city 'like a child by its mother.' Apparently the image of the first Calvinist immigrants from the South as destitutely poor was commonly recognizable in Haarlem. Before 1594, when the Reformed deacons began to look after Flemings and Brabanders, the Southerners had to rely on their own social welfare networks. These were dominated by Mennonites, among whom were numerous rich merchants willing to support their southern compatriots regardless of their confession. The Reformed must have been embarrassed by the fact that their coreligionists were dependent on the charity of those whom they regarded as heretical sectarians.[51] The situation that had lasted until 1594 lived on in the common image of southern Calvinists—in the pamphlets from the troubles of 1618 they were always referred to as descendants of paupers and riffraff.[52]

References to the social status of the various denominations were not unimportant in the image formation of the different groups. Identifying a party as consisting of paupers could make them suspect of harboring radical tendencies and religious *Schwärmerei*. In addition, poor migrants needed to know their place and behave as grateful guests instead of meddling in local affairs. The Counter-Remonstrant pamphleteers were therefore eager to rebut the common image of poor Calvinists and rich Mennonites: not only had there been great numbers of poor Anabaptists, they averred, but also numerous wealthy Reformed.[53] Against this dominant image, the author of *Het loon van den Brouwer* pictured the Mennonites as nouveaux riches who had forgotten their past poverty and haughtily turned against their compatriots:

In Kercken, en in Huys, sonder eenich aenstoot.
En doen ghy hier eerst quaemt, dit mot ick noch verclaren
Miserabel ghesteldt, vondt ghy troost inden noot:
Ghy sijt hier op gevoed, als 't Kint in's Moeders schoot:
Over de Magistraet, hebt ghy geen kaus om klagen,
Dit wert meer uyt hoochmoet, dan door armoede groot
Wat stercke beenen zijn't, die weelde connen draghen.

51 Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, p. 174.

52 See also: *Copye van den lasterlijcken brief van Verlaen: in den Haerlemschen Harminiaen ghementioneert, met korte Annotatien gheillustreert: ghelijck mede van den Brieff aen de H. Burghemeesteren, van den selfden ter selfder tijdt gheschreven, tot blijck der waerheyt ghepubliceert*, Haarlem 1618; Gerard Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie, en andre kerkelyke geschiedenissen, in en ontrent de Nederlanden*, Rotterdam 1704, vol. 4, 639.

53 *Het loon van den Brouwer*, fol. 4.

> But now that you become wealthy,
> you display much hate and envy,
> You scandalize and scold and blame your own people
> with outrage and brutality [...].[54]

The motive of unfaithfulness against one's 'own people' was also adopted in the *Vrevghden-ghesanck*, where De Brauwer's attack is presented as evidence of disloyalty against his fellow migrants, unparalleled in all creation: among all animals there is none that attacks his own kind; such behavior is possible only in the corrupted hearts of men.[55] The equation of the Calvinists with the underclass of southern newcomers was perceived as a severe attack. In a society in which poverty was associated with susceptibility to radical ideas, the Reformed could not ignore such claims. The evidence that there had also been rich Calvinists and poor Anabaptists among the first exiles was considered important, and the Reformed pamphleteers did their best to refute the accusations of the Mennonites by turning them around.

Memory as 'A Salutary Warning'

One of the political victims of the 1618 coup that led to the purge of the Haarlem magistrate was council member and former burgomaster Gerrit van der Laen.[56] Even though he was a member of the Reformed congregation, van der Laen had always sided with the 'libertine' faction in church and magistrate and had later gained notoriety as a defender of the Remonstrant cause. In 1618 anonymous Counter-Remonstrant authors published a letter that Van der Laen had written in 1615 to Amsterdam minister Hendrik Gesteranus in which he had complained about the influence of Counter-Remonstrant Southerners who 'agitated against the States and tried to create a Flemish state of affairs.'[57] In the same year two Haarlem citizens, Abraham de Block and Elias Christiaensen, were banished from the city for spreading vicious rumors about Van der Laen. The burgomaster, they reported, had been seen in the vicinity of the 'Red House,' a local brothel, accompanied by two prostitutes. His sexual

54 Ibid., fol. 3: Maer nu ghy weeldich wort, toont ghy veel haet en nyt,
Ghy lastert, schelt, blameert, schand'lijck met violency,
U eyghen volck [...].

55 *Vrevghden-ghesanck over de schoone veranderinghen in't vrye Nederlandt*, fol. B2r.

56 *Publicatie der stadt Haerlem. Afghelesen den xxv. Octobris anno 1618*, Haarlem 1618, fol. 2r.

57 *Copye van den lasterlijcken brief van Verlaen*, p. 8.

misbehavior, anonymous pamphleteers concluded, was the direct outcome of his 'libertine' religious views and had left him with various venereal diseases.[58] Van der Laen's position became more and more insecure—in Haarlem he was mocked as 'droncken Claesjen,' an allusion to the former bishop of Haarlem, Nicolaas de Castro, who had been referred to with the same nickname. In order to suggest secret Catholic sympathies, his enemies called him 'bishop of Haarlem' and 'Don Gerrit' after Don Juan of Austria.[59] In 1618, his opponents felt safe enough to publish a number of pamphlets against him. In the most notable one, *Den Haerlemschen Harminiaen* ('The Haarlem Arminian'), the 1615 banishments were presented as the work of 'the Spanish tyranny under a new name, threatening to take over the land and letting the tyrannical spirit triumph.'[60]

In a notorious letter from 1615 that was discovered by his enemies, Van der Laen had accused Southerners of trying to overrule natives and reestablish 'what they had tried to bring about in the days of the Earl of Leicester.'[61] If they were not stopped, they would repeat what they had done in Flanders, Brabant and Wallonia. Southern Calvinists could be resisted only if Hollanders awoke from their amnesia and remembered the past:

> These people want our memory concerning these things [the radicalism of the Southern Calvinists] to be like the memory of flies, who have escaped the knife five or six times, only to sit down again and be cut in pieces. No, these things will eternally remain in the memory of the Hollanders and they serve the magistrate as a salutary warning, because it is their duty to keep special watch over the religion and the welfare of the country [...].[62]

58 Gabrielle Dorren, *Eenheid en verscheidenheid. De burgers van Haarlem in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 2001, p. 188.

59 *Copye van den lasterlijcken brief van Verlaen*, pp. 5, 9.

60 *Den Haerlemschen Harminiaen. Dat is: Verhael van de vreetheyt der Heeren van Haerlem*, Haarlem 1618.

61 *Copye van den lasterlijcken brief van Verlaen*, 7. For the role of southern Calvinists during the stay of Leicester in the Netherlands, see: F. G. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands, 1586–1587*, Utrecht 1988.

62 *Copye van den lasterlijcken brief van Verlaen*, p.12: Dese luyden menen, dat men op dese saecke behoort te hebben de memorie van vlieghen, die vijf of ses malen achter malkanderen, den slagh van't mes ontgaen sijnde, terstont ter selfder plaetse wederkeren om aen stucken gheslaghen te worden. Neen het dient den Hollanders ter eeuwigher memorie, tot een heylsame waerschouwinghe van de Magistraet, dat hen lieden insonderheyt toekomt te waken voor de Religie ende de welstant vant Lant [...].

Memory is presented here as a remedy against the threat of radicals. The 'eternal commemoration' of the Flemish Calvinist danger serves 'as a salutary warning' to the Hollanders and their magistrates. In 1618, Counter-Remonstrant pamphleteers included Van der Laen's letters and added a comment in which his argument was turned around:

> I also think that the memory of the Hispaniolized league shall remain forever in the memory of the Hollanders, and that they do not let themselves be fooled again under the pretext of reforming the true religion and the need to maintain the government's authority, as unfortunately has happened now.[63]

The 'Hispaniolized league' of the Remonstrants is tagged here with attributes recognizable in collective memory: what the Arminians did was nothing but the renewal of the '*Spaensch placcaet*' ('Spanish proclamation'), and their tyranny was worse than the rule of Don Juan of Austria in the Netherlands and of John of Leyden in Munster.[64] Fortunately, the anonymous author remarks, these historical examples had not been forgotten by Hollanders, so they could easily recognize and counter the threat of the 'new tyranny.'

Modern authors on the migration of Southerners to Haarlem have uttered their astonishment about Van der Laen's writings against the town's exile community.[65] Despite his agitation against strangers, his daughter Beatrix married the wealthy Antwerp merchant Isaac Massa in 1622, and Van der Laen seems to have been on good terms with his son-in-law. Massa was not only an immigrant but also a Calvinist and thereby belonged to the faction of his father-in-law's enemies. Even more surprising is the fact that Van der Laen himself had family bonds in the Southern Netherlands that dated back to the late Middle Ages.[66] Apparently the North Holland branch of the family had always remained in contact with their southern relatives, and as a youth Gerrit van der Laen had studied in Louvain. This case illustrates once more that the

63 Ibid.: 'Ick meen oock dat by den Hollanders in eeuwigher memorie sal blijven de ghedachtenis van de ghehispanioliseerde Liga, ende datse haer andermael met den deckmantel van de ware Religie beter te Reformeren, ende d'authoriteyt van d'Overheyt te maintineren also niet en sullen laeten verblijden, als nu leyder gheschiet is.'

64 Ibid., pp. 6, 27.

65 See for example: Pieter Biesboer, 'De Vlaamse immigranten in Haarlem 1578 in Haarlem en hun nakomelingen,' in: Pieter Biesboer, Gerrit Kolthof et al., *Vlamingen in Haarlem*, Haarlem 1996, p. 41.

66 M. Thierry de Bye Dóllemann and O. Schutte, 'Het Haarlemse geslacht Van der Laen,' in: *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 86 (1969), p. 326.

stereotypical image of Flemish religious zealots altercating with native xenophobic Hollanders has its origin in contemporary polemics rather than in reality.

Like De Brauwer's *Eenvuldighe waerschouwinghe aen de gevluchte vreemdelinghen*, Van der Laen's anti-immigrant rhetoric needs to be understood primarily as an argument within a discourse in which the logic of 'strangers' vs. 'natives' could be employed to disqualify one's own position in public discourse. By referring to a stereotype, he was able to graphically depict his vision of a rule of strict Calvinism. Van der Laen's position in theological and political questions was obvious: he preferred a rather Erastian model of the relations between church and government. To the Haarlem elders who wished to discuss these matters, he stated that the church should be strictly subordinated to the magistrate 'as is common practice in the Palatine and other Reformed principalities.' The authorities had to appoint 'trustees, superintendents or bishops, committed to the magistrate by oath.' These overseers were to control the ministers, whose only task was to study the scriptures and preach the Gospel—their interference in political issues had to be prevented.[67] In his long-lasting conflict with the Reformed consistory, the former Haarlem burgomaster had always maintained that as a public officer he had to commit himself to public religion. In Haarlem this turned out to be the Reformed faith, but 'if the Augsburg Confession had been public and authorized, he would have converted' since he was an admirer of Melanchthon.[68] For him, the only authority in religion was Scripture itself, and he had become Reformed when Delft Minister Arnoldus Cornelisz had convinced him that adherents of the Reformed Religion held no authority higher than the Bible.[69]

The rhetoric employed by Van der Laen has to be situated in a conflict that can be traced back to the 'wonder year' in Antwerp that was long to be remembered in the Republic. During his studies in Louvain in the late 1560s, Van der Laen had become a Protestant but was more drawn towards Lutheranism and had become involved in the conflict between Calvinists and adherents of the Augsburg Confession, which arose in Antwerp in 1567.[70] Confronted with religious suppression, the two groups had disagreed on how to respond. The Lutherans refused to participate in any resistance or rebellion and were blamed by the Reformed for being unwilling to defend the common 'Christian

67 Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie*, vol. 4, p. 639.

68 Noord-Hollands Archief, Acta van de kerkeraad van de Hervormde Kerk te Haarlem, December 20, 1622.

69 Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, p. 193.

70 M. Thierry de Bye Dóllemann and O. Schutte, *Het Haarlemse geslacht Van der Laen*, in: *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 86 (1969), 326; Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, p. 193.

freedom.'[71] The phraseology of the Antwerp Lutherans, accusing their fellow Protestants of rioting and unruliness, clearly resembles Van der Laen's letters from 1615: 'vous, Calvinistes, vous auctorises icy par force et violence, et nous y sommes avec le consentiment du magistrat.'[72] For Van der Laen, obedience to the magistrate was, besides moral conduct, the only check to observe in the appointment of ministers: the main problem with Calvinist ministers was 'that they descend from the dregs and the scum of the unhewn and rude people who nourish a natural hatred against the magistrate.'[73]

The dispute between Lutherans and Calvinists in Antwerp festered in the Republic for a long time. When the northern cities were confronted with the immigration of Lutheran fugitives from Antwerp in 1585, Amsterdam Reformed minister Petrus Plancius accused them of sympathizing with Catholicism and recalled the events of the wonder year in Antwerp. As late as 1602 and 1604, Lutherans in Amsterdam and Rotterdam were again reminded of the Antwerp dispute and denounced as traitors who had collaborated with the Catholics to persecute the Reformed.[74] The quarrel around the Antwerp events of 1566 even spread across the borders of the Republic: when the States-General wrote to Philipp Nicolai, Lutheran minister in Hamburg, appealing for more tolerance towards Calvinists in the Hanseatic city, the wonder year once again became a disputed matter. It was not Lutherans, replied Nicolai, but Calvinists who were to blame for the hardships in Antwerp: with their rebellious attitude and adamant intolerance they more resembled an Islamic sect than a Christian Church and thereby provoked persecution.[75] Van der Laen's resentment was not exceptional—Antwerp's past lived on and, according to J. W. Pont, was a main factor in the irreconcilability between the two confessions in the Republic: Lutherans were regarded as 'strangers in the State, as those, who let down (the Reformed) in the struggle for religious freedom.'[76] The ever-increasing tendency of Calvinists to identify the Revolt with their own confessional cause excluded other confessional parties identified as 'strangers.' In their eyes, Netherlandishness was not so much determined by birth as

71 J. W. Pont, *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618*, Haarlem 1911, p. 89.

72 Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550–1577*, Antwerpen 1996, p. 143.

73 '[G]esproten uitet schuim ende gespuis van't gemeene obesnoeit ende onwetent volk, die van naturen alle overheit haten.' (Dorren, *Eenheid en verscheidenheid*, p. 136.)

74 Pont, *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme*, p. 89; C. Ch. G. Visser, *De Lutheranen in Nederland. Tussen katholicisme en calvinisme. 1566 tot heden*, Dieren 1983, p. 44.

75 Ibid., p. 45.

76 Pont, *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme*, p. 89.

by religion and loyalty to the Revolt. These new semantics could be reversed by referring to the Calvinist party as 'the strangers' since their majority did indeed consist of southern exiles. The same strategy was applicable to the various religious minorities in northern cities: the agitation against 'strangers' and 'outlanders' did not reflect a general tendency toward xenophobia—many of the authors were Southerners themselves—but a reestablishment of the traditional semantics of 'natives' and 'strangers.' Memories of the Calvinist past in the South as well as the first phase of immigration to the Republic were important. They warned of Calvinist intolerance and radicalism and put newcomers in their place: refugees inhabited the country thanks only to the goodwill and charity of the natives. As strangers, they had to show their gratitude and stop interfering in political issues.

The case of Van der Laen was no exception. Not only sympathizers of Lutheranism but also moderate Reformed regents who sympathized with Erastian ideas employed an explicit anti-immigrant rhetoric while at the same time including Flemish and Brabant migrants among their personal friends and contacts. Amsterdam burgomaster Cornelis Pietersz. Hooft, for example, father to the famous poet Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, is often cited as a typical example of a Holland regent with an explicit anti-immigrant stance.[77] However, Hooft was on friendly terms with southern migrants and was praised for his personal engagement in the admittance and accommodation of refugees in Holland. Joost van den Vondel, born in Cologne of exiled Southern Netherlandish parents, dedicated his play 'Hierusalem verwoest' to Hooft and praised him as a generous host of southern exiles:

> The most dignified fruit of this [Hooft's] work is that many thousands of exiled people were kindly nourished and accommodated in the bosom and the territory of the Serene Lords, the States. Resting under their protecting shadows, [the exiles] did no longer have to fear the rage of the Spanish Alecto, who arose from the limbo of hell and, having shaken her snake-wig thrice, kindled the fire with her torch in the faggots and the firewood of the stakes to which many pious Christians were attached, who sung for Jesus Christ in the midst of the flames and offered their body and soul as an odor, sweet and pleasant to God.[78]

77 Briels, *Zuidnederlanders in de Republiek*, pp. 269ff.; Asaert, *1585. De val van Antwerpen*, pp. 26of.

78 Joost van den Vondel, *De werken van Vondel*, (ed. J. F. M. Sterck, H. W. E. Moller e.a.) Amsterdam 1929, vol. 1 (1605–1620), p. 91: 'De weerdighste vrucht van deze arbeyd is dat vele duyzend verjaeghde menschen in den schoot en het gebied der doorluchtige Heeren

When Hooft died in 1626, Vondel again wrote a poem about the burgomaster and praised him as a protector of the persecuted exiles from the South.[79] Like Van der Laen, Hooft was not simply to be categorized as a fervent anti-immigrant regent; his remarks on southern migrants were based on his views on the relationship between church and government, and he opposed the Calvinist struggle for independence from government control. Like Van der Laen, he could be characterized as an Erastian who feared that the dominance of southern Calvinists would disturb local power relations. Despite his reservations about Calvinism, he referred to the situation in Geneva where all foreign ministers had to swear an oath of loyalty to the city's magistrate.[80] He felt that in his hometown of Amsterdam the church had fallen under a foreign yoke and that the strangers were unwilling to accept local customs and traditions. All this did not prevent friendly contact with southern migrants, and his concerns about the present state in the church, for which he held Calvinists responsible, were less fundamental than has often been assumed.

Managing Counter-Memory

The question of how bitter memories of the Calvinist past could be countered had been discussed by ministers and consistories since the first accusations of complicity in the executions of the London Mennonites. In 1576, the Antwerp consistory sent a letter to the Austin Friars stranger church in London and asked for information about the case.[81] The first reactions were calm: to be slandered and falsely accused was the fate of Christians in this world, the Londoners answered. Countering the charges was useless—the rumors would be silenced by time.[82] For a short period this strategy seemed to work, but when Reformed ministers reported renewed accusations in the 1580s, the London consistory

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Staten gastvry zyn geherberght en lieflijck gekoestert, en die in veylige schaduwe gezeten niet meer hoeven te vreezen de grimmigheyd van die uyt het voorborgh der Hellen opgedonderde Spaensche Alecto, die drymael haer geslangde perruyck geschud hebbende, met haer fackel het vuyr stack inde mutsaerden en rijsbossen die de palen en staecken bekleeden waeraen dagelijcx vele vrome Christenen wierden vastgemaeckt, die midden inde vlammen Jesus Christus lof toezingende, hem lijf en ziele opofferden tot eenen zoeten en Godbehaegelijcken reuck.'

79 Ibid., vol. 2 (1620–1627), p. 760.

80 C. P. Hooft, *Memoriën en adviezen* (ed. H. A. Enno van Gelder), Utrecht 1871–1925, vol. 1, p. 131.

81 *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavum archivum*, II, pp. 552f.

82 Ibid., II, p. 557.

had to change its approach. When Dordrecht minister Hendrik van den Corput asked for more information, his London colleague Godfried van Wingen sent him a detailed account of the events plus a copy of the printed testimony of those Mennonites who had converted to the Reformed Church.[83] To defend the reputation of the Reformed Church, which explicitly did not define itself in local and congregational terms but as the universal and united *corpus Christi*, the Mennonites' memories had to be countered. The London congregation was prepared to respond to all accusations with an elaborate program of memory management. When the descendants of the London martyrs caused unease in Haarlem, the London Reformed congregation only had to send Haarlem another copy of the 1581 letter to Van den Corput and the declaration of the converts.[84]

Managing counter-memory had to be done with caution, a fact the Reformed ministers and elders understood very well. They could not address the disputed issues themselves since new accusations could easily arise and contested issues could get out of their control. As long as their opponents remained silent, they had to hope that 'time consume(d) everything, including the tongues of the backbiters.'[85] But as soon as amnesia failed to do its work, they had to be well prepared. In Haarlem, Calvinist pamphleteers were clearly able to anticipate the actions and reactions of their Mennonite and Remonstrant opponents. They chose a different silencing strategy than that used by the Haarlem magistrate before 1618. As we have seen in the case of de Block and Christiaensen, propaganda against the magistrate was not without risk—most pamphlets were published anonymously, but if authors opposing the magistrate were identified, severe measures could be taken. It is therefore striking that authors such as Marijn de Brauwer published under their own names at a time when quarrels were reaching their climax and Counter-Remonstrant regime change was imminent.

There is no evidence that De Brauwer was punished for attacking Calvinists. Obviously, De Brauwer's pamphlet was published before the conflict was decided. Both the new magistrate and the Reformed forces chose an approach that did not aim at reconciliation but rather at amnesia: things said and done in the past should no longer be remembered or punished. Calvinists had particular reasons for being reluctant to take measures against critics and slanderers

83 Ruytinck, *Gheschiedenissen ende Handelingen*, pp. 108ff.

84 Ibid., pp. 314ff.

85 Duke, *Martyrs with a Difference*, p. 214.

from outside their own congregation.[86] Since the first days of its existence, the Dutch Reformed Church had shaped its self-image by referring to itself as a persecuted and afflicted flock. Its identity as the 'true Church,' recognizable by suffering and persecution, was deeply internalized by its members as well as by its institutional organization. Pastoral writings and printed sermons like Ysbrand Balck's *Het cleyn mostert-zaet* served as models of identification for Calvinists.[87] Obviously the self-image of the Reformed as the true, persecuted Christians was threatened when they were accused of being persecutors themselves. Their opponents understood very well that Calvinists could not deal with these accusations. In a similar case, in 1608 the classis of Edam decided not to take steps against Mennonite slanderers since such measures would only give their opponents more reasons to backbite. The Reformed ministers had already been called 'inquisitors,' and the classis did not want to make things worse.[88]

In 1618, the memory of the London martyrs could be silenced, and it is unclear whether the London testimony did actually have to be used. Nevertheless, the request to the London congregation for evidence shows how delicate the memory of the tragic events of forty-three years earlier remained. The difficult balancing act Calvinists had to perform was appreciated in the town chronicle of Haarlem by Counter-Remonstrant minister Samuel Ampzing. In an account of the persecution of the first Protestants, he hesitates to say anything about Anabaptist victims. The danger of stirring up collective memories of Mennonite martyrdom forced him to keep silent about any details or names lest Mennonite authors made use of Ampzing's work for their martyrologies:

> At this point I must not remain silent and I cannot conceal that among the people who suffered under the Spanish and Papist persecution, there were some, who have suffered and even died for the Anabaptist faith. However, I do not want to mention their names, for if they were unknown until now, the members of their sect could use my work to fill their 'victim-books' and to praise and glorify their so-called 'martyrs.' But to

86 This was clearly not the case when church members attacked and criticized the congregation. People like van der Laen were repeatedly called to account for their role in the conflict after the quarrels had ended (See for example: Acta van de kerkeraad van de Hervormde Kerk te Haarlem, October 2, 1619; December 20, 1622.).

87 Balck, *Het cleyn mostert-zaet.* For other examples of such writings see also chapter 1 of this book.

88 Van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen*, p. 146.

> God only the cause and not the punishment makes the true martyr, and those who die for heretical opinions, are miserable twice.[89]

Ampzing was aware that any information he gave could be used to remind Mennonites of their own past and provide them with a further account of their heroes, as had been the case with the Reformed sources in the Haarlem martyrology. On the other hand, Ampzing's opponents during the struggle between Calvinists and Remonstrants are mentioned with great diligence. Burgomaster Gerrit van der Laen, who helped defend Haarlem during the siege as a young man, is mentioned only euphemistically and sometimes even obliquely as 'the son of Klaes Verlaen.'[90] Ampzing barely mentions him, only noting that he fled from a strategic place that he and his company had to defend while those who stayed and fought against the besiegers perished.[91] The past had to remain under control since everything could be used in ways other than those originally intended by the author who delivered the historical account. In their efforts to keep control of collective memory, the Reformed developed elaborate and deliberate strategies. Although counter-voices could not always be silenced, in their position as the public church, Calvinists were able to shape a coherent idea of the past that could successfully be defended against critics and dissidents.

Disseminating Inclusive Exile Identities

While confessional identities were stabilized and fed by memories of persecution and refuge, there was another type of identity formation among Haarlem exiles that did not emerge beyond confessional circles but was shaped in a non-confessional pattern. Exiles belonging to non-public tolerated confessional

89 Samuel Ampzing, *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*, Haarlem 1628, p. 452: 'Ik en kan hier evenwel niet verswijgen, nochte verbergen, dat onder dese luyden, die de Spaensche ende Roomsche vervolgingen uytgestaen hebben, enige ook geweest sijn die om de Wederdoperije geleden hebben, ja den dood gestorven sijn: howel ik die willens op dien naem niet en hebbe willen melden, nochte uytdrucken, of ze hun veel-licht onbekend mogten wesen, opdat die van hunne Secte met mijnen arbeyd hun vermeynd Offerboeck niet en stofferen, ende hunne martelaers door mij niet en komen te roemen, ende te verheffen: also de sake alleen, ende niet de straffe geenszins, den Martelaer voor Gode maeckt, ende die voor Gods-lasterlijcke opinien ende ketterijen sterven, maer veelmeer dobbel-ellendig te achten sijn.'

90 Ibid., p. 242.

91 Ibid., p. 328.

groups began to shape their identities in a way that did not accentuate a specific confession.[92] This pattern of identification emerged particularly among groups of Mennonite linen weavers and yarn bleachers from West Flanders who had fled to Haarlem.

The numerous sources addressing the past in West Flanders and the flight to Haarlem of the Mennonite linen workers suggest that a living memory culture persisted until the first half of the seventeenth century. As late as 1646, yarn bleacher Pieter van Hulle was able to give a vivid account of the flight of his ancestors in 1578. Apparently, the knowledge of circumstances in Flanders was passed down to succeeding generations in such detail that Van Hulle could not only provide an account of the past in the South but also give the names (including nicknames) and birth places of no fewer than forty bleachers who had left the region around Menen with their wives and children. In Haarlem, which 'by God's grace and the wise government' had become 'one of the most powerful cities in Holland,' they were 'welcomed in a friendly manner and treated like indigenous citizens.'[93]

The anonymous preface of the *Schilderboek* by famous painter and author Karel van Mander from Meulebeke in Flanders, who had migrated to Haarlem, offers a similar account.[94] The anonymous author presents Van Mander's life, including a great number of intimate details about the youth and early travels of the artist. Apparently, the memory of the Flemish past was preserved in stories and amusing anecdotes in the circles of Van Mander's family and friends. Long passages depict innocent tomfooleries of the young painter: Karel, smarter and wittier than his contemporaries, liked to play all kinds of tricks. On an extremely cold day he talked one of his father's servants into licking an iron water pump. The servant, as expected, remained stuck to the cold pump

92 This does not, of course, imply that they did not conform to a clearly defined religious confession. As Piet Visser has shown, not only the rather liberal Mennonites but also the strictest 'Old Flemings,' who advocated a severe version of church discipline, seem to have been culturally active in Haarlem's literary and artistic circles. (Piet Visser, 'Doopsgezinde rederijkersactiviteiten in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw in Hoorn, De Rijp en Rotterdam,' in: *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 16 [1990], p. 38). One of them was Karel van Mander, who seems to have developed 'from a spiritual libertine into an ultra-orthodox Old Fleming.' (Hessel Miedema, *Een schilderij van Karel van Mander de Oude*, in: *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 16 [1990], p. 118.)

93 Regtdoorzee Greup-Roldanus, 'Pieter van Hulle (1585–1656),' p. 482.

94 Karel van Mander, *Het schilderboek. Het leven van de doorluchtige Nederlandse en Hoogduitse schilders*, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 25ff. On this biographical account, see: Henk Duits, *'Het leven van Karel van Mander. Kunstenaarsleven of schrijversbiografie?', in: De zeventiende eeuw 9 (1993), pp. 113–130.*

and freed himself only at the cost of a piece of his tongue. The artist's youth in Flanders is presented in the form of a rural idyll and told in a sequence of comical and picaresque anecdotes. Suddenly the mood darkens and the idyllic countryside of West Flanders turns into a battle zone when marauding Walloon malcontents pillage the area around Kortrijk, plundering houses and molesting women and young girls. Van Mander's family is harassed and robbed, and they have to leave Meulebeke: 'Since then the whole landscape has turned into a scene of ruin and destruction.' After having fled to Bruges, they decide to settle in 'the old and famous town of Haarlem.'[95]

A similar narrative of the same events can be found in the songbook *Haerlem Soetendal* ('Haarlem, sweet valley'), probably written in 1614. The events are told in almost the same pattern: the inhabitants of the beautiful town of Kortrijk are joyously celebrating the feast of Corpus Christi when suddenly the Walloon malcontents invade the town, molesting and killing unfortunate citizens.[96] Although Van Hulle, Van Mander and the author of *Haerlem Soetendal*, a rhetorician operating under the pen name *Botten Bloeyen hooghe* ('Dog roses in bloom') were all Mennonites, none of the texts mention religious issues. The events in Flanders are presented as a human catastrophe, not as the suffering of an elect few persevering through hardship. Behind this narrative lies a new idea of what it means to be a Haarlemmer: they do not belong to the city by descent, nor are they predestined to inherit the land by belonging to the 'true Religion'; their bond with Haarlem is one of choice and commitment and they were welcomed as refugees like 'children into their mother's bosom' and helped to make the town flourish after the siege.[97] As Pieter van Hulle made clear, the contribution of Southerners to the economic success of the town was immense, and the new technologies brought by the refugees made it 'famous in the whole world, so that all foreign merchants are eager to buy Haarlem products.'[98]

Poet and painter Van Mander, the most prolific cultural role model of Haarlem's Flemish community, employed a remarkable strategy to disseminate the new identity of the 'Haarlemmers by choice.' Around 1600 he composed two anthems on his new home. In one, he clearly refers to a fifteenth-century

95 Van Mander, *Het schilderboek*, pp. 36, 39.

96 *Liedekens ende Refereynen, ghemaeckt by Haerlem Soetendal, van zijn Avonturen ofte wedervarentheyt, sint zijn vertreck uyt Haerlem, in 't Jaer ons Heeren 1599*, Haarlem 16xx, fol. D3r.

97 *Der Wit-Angieren Eeren-Krans, gesproten uyt de Vlaemsche Natie*, Haarlem 1630, *Voorrede*, fol. 2r.

98 *Memoriael van de overkomste der Vlaemingen*, p. 483.

song by Dirc Mathijszen, also a 'new Haarlemmer' born in South Holland or Flanders. Like Van Mander, Mathijszen emphasizes his love for Haarlem, which he finds more beautiful and pleasant than any city he has ever visited.[99] Van Mander rewrites Mathijszen's song and thereby tries to point to a tradition in which Haarlem local identity is defined not by birth but by commitment to the new home:

> I have traveled, wandered, sailed,
> In my young years, in many directions,
> in countries and empires with beautiful towns,
> of which I will not mention all the names,
> for the sake of time—
> But I did not find a town so pleasant and fairly situated
> as Haarlem in Holland.
> It might be that this fondness lies in my nature,
> since affection can also cause a lack of judgment.[100]

Van Mander presents himself in the direct tradition of Mathijszen:

> In the years of my youth
> I have traveled and sailed many miles.
> From here to there,
> From East to West and South to North:
> That's how I know a lot of towns,
> but I never came to one, in which I found more joy
> (as many will know)
> than Haarlem in Holland.[101]

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99 J. D. Rutgers van der Loeff, *Drie lofdichten op Haarlem. Het middelnederlandsch gedicht van Jan Mathijszen en Karel van Mander's twee beelden van Haarlem*, Haarlem 1911, p. 13.

100 Ibid., p. 19: Ick hebbe gereijst, geloopen, gevaren,
Mijn jonge jaren, meest alder wegen
In landen in rijcken, daer schoon steden waren,
Die ick haer namen hier te verklaren,
Om tijt te sparen, late verswegen—
Maer soo lustighen stadt, noch soo wel gelegen
En vant ick als Haerlem in Hollant fijn,
Of natuere en drijft mijn sinnelijck genegen:
Want door affectie kan wel onverstant sijn.

101 Ibid., p. 13: Ic heb in minen jonghen jaren
Menich mijl ghelopen ende ghevaren

Throughout the song, and often literally, Van Mander follows his late medieval predecessor in praising the beautiful and fertile farmlands and fishing grounds around his new home. He repeats the commonplace 'mother' Haarlem, 'who sweetly welcomes the stranger like her own child in her bosom.'[102] His literary construction of a Haarlem identity, based not on birth but on choice, implies the existence of a long tradition in which the poet inscribes himself.

Attempts to reconcile the various groups after the religious troubles of the Twelve Years' Truce and to create a common Haarlem identity could tie in with the literary constructions of artists such as Van Mander. Obviously Haarlem, as one of the most important cities of the Northern Netherlands with immigrants accounting for about half its population, could not afford to be divided into fervently antagonistic confessional and ethnic camps. The notion of a new Haarlem identity based on loyalty to the city without regard to confession offered a solution. In a 1619 historical play about the siege of Haarlem by schoolmaster Govert van der Eembd, the 'new Haarlemmers' are given a historical role in the city: when Haarlem is destroyed, they are designated to rebuild it and bring it to new glory. The 'happy end' in the 'Treur-bly-eynde-spel'('Happy-ending tragedy') is the coming of the Southerners, who are named in a prophecy after the siege:

> A people comes moving from the South, though strange in tongue,
> and neighbors to the tongue-bent outlandish Walloon,
> they seek to escape the hatred against God's own chosen saints,
> and amongst you they desire to find a steady home to stay.
> More than a hundred arrive each day and live at your homes.
> The freedom of religion leads to the glory of God.
> The widely-famed Walloon, the Fleming and Brabander
> enter the ports in droves, one after the other.
> Like the busy bee, that's driven out of its home,
> Doesn't rest until it finds a place to stay
> and where everywhere can freely trade and live

Vast wech, weder ende voert,
Oest west, zuden ende noert:
Soe dat mij menich stede is becant,
Mer ic en quam nie daer ic meer genuechten vant
(Als menich mensche is becant)
Dan te Haerlem in Hollant.

102 Ibid., p. 28.

without danger and fear for his life.
And those who found such a place bring tidings
to the wandering and exiled flock,
which then enters the ports with noise
and on the threshold they sing their native song.
Such is the doing of these folks: while still at the port,
their song to praise the Promised Land is heard.[103]

Memory is focused on the siege by the Spaniards; remembering the old enmity is a duty for both old and new Haarlemmers. Both have suffered under the common enemy and have to educate their children in the knowledge of the past; Haarlemmers have to make their children 'read and re-read and tell and commemorate.' Youths have to 'imbibe from their infancy an avenging hatred for their hereditary enemy and (…) a willingness to defend their precious freedom.'[104] The common cause of rebuilding the city after the destruction by the Spaniards unites newcomers and natives; by committing themselves to their new home, the newcomers are no longer strangers.

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103 Govert van der Eembd, *Haerlemse Belegeringhs Treur-blyeynde-spel*, Haarlem 1619, fol. 2rf:
Uyt Zuyden komt een volck, hoewel vreemt van tael,
En na-ghebuyrt met den krom-tongh-uyt-heemsen Wael,
Nochtans, uyt hatingh tot Gods af-ghestelde Santen,
Begheeren sy by u haer woon-plaets vast te planten.
s'Daeghs meer dan honderd komt; bewoont u huys en Hoff,
De vryheyd des gheloofs lijd al tot Godes loff,
De Wijd-beruchte Wael, den Vlamingh en Brabander
Ter Poorten indringt, ja met troppen d'een na d'ander.
Ghelijck de gaeuwe Bye, uyt woon-plaets gantsch verjaeght
Niet rust voor hy en heb een plaets die hem behaeght
Dat's daer elck vry en vranck onschreinnigh voor hun lijv
Sijn handel uyterlijck mach openbaerlijck drijven:
De welck'hy hebbende ghevonden draeght de maer
Aen d'and're doolende en uytghedreven Schaer;
Die dan met een ghedruys ter poorten heen in-dringhen,
En op 's poorts dorpel flucks tot loff huns huys-waerds singhen
Soo gaet het met dit volck; noch zijnde voor de Poort,
Een Lied tot lof des Lands van Beloften wierd ghehoort.

104 Ibid., *Voorrede*, fol. *3v.

FIGURE 4 *Gable stone on the Beestenmarkt in Leiden (early seventeenth century): De Verspieders. 'In't lant van beloften. In de nieuwe stad' (In the Promised Land. In the new town'). The relief refers to the biblical story of the twelve spies who bring giant grapes from Canaan to convince the Israelites to invade the country (Numbers 13: 1–14).*

Inscribing Migrant Memories into the Local Memory Canon

Migrant authors active in the Flemish and Brabantine chambers of rhetoric disseminated new civic identities that inscribed the past of the exiles into the historical narrative of their host societies. While the chambers were explicitly identified as southern institutions, they also fashioned pronounced civic identities and acted as representatives of their respective hometowns at literary festivities in other cities.[105] As immigrant institutions, they only had individuals with migrant backgrounds as members but had contacts with native

105 See e.g.: Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, 'Het Brabantse gezicht van de Amsterdamse rederijkerskamer "Het Wit Lavendel,"' in: *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992), pp. 160–166; J. Briels, 'Reyn Genuecht. Zuidnederlandse kamers van Rhetorica in Noordnederland 1585–1630', in: *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis bijzonderlijk van het oud hertogdom Brabant* 57 (1974), pp. 3–89; Johannes Müller, 'Orthodoxie jenseits der Konfessionen? Die Diskussion religiöser Streitfragen in niederländischen Rhetorikergesellschaften im frühen 17. Jahrhundert,' in: Andreas Pietsch and Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Konfessionelle Ambiguität—Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte), Gütersloh 2013, p. 275.

rhetorician societies, organized festivities and took part in competitions together with other Holland and Zeeland chambers.

Migrant rhetoricians incorporated their exile memories into the memory canon of their hometowns not only in Haarlem but also in Leiden and Amsterdam.[106] Annual commemorations of the Leiden siege that ended with a triumphant victory over the Habsburg troops became occasions to inscribe migrant identity into local memories and identities. The Leiden Flemish chamber annually contributed poems and songs about Leiden's relief. As already mentioned, Jacob Duym had included his play on Leiden in his collection of plays about the Dutch Revolt and reserved a crucial role for Flemish refugees. Like Duym, Amsterdam rhetorician Jan Sieuwertsz. Kolm, born to southern refugee parents, included memories of flight and persecution in his historical play about the Revolt in the Northern Provinces. In his *Nederlants treurspel* (1616) he proclaimed that all Netherlanders—southern refugees as well as local Hollanders—shared a common past.[107]

In his play about the siege of Leiden, Jacob van Zevecote expressed the gratitude, commitment and loyalty refugees felt toward their new towns.[108] He combined nostalgia for Flanders with praise of Holland, the true home of refugees. Abraham de Koningh of the Brabant rhetorician chamber of Amsterdam employed the same motif. After recalling the traumatic events many migrants had experienced, he depicted their miserable state upon arrival in the Holland safe havens. Only through the intervention of the Amsterdam magistrates had they been able to survive and build a future. One of the exiled characters from the Flemish town of Belle in De Koningh's play *'Tspel van Sinne* ('Allegoric morality play') laments his fate while at the same time praising Amsterdam:

> My father (the good man), who refused to honor
> a stone statue of St Mary, which stood in front of our door.
> Therefore he was, alas, alas, imprisoned by that dog,
> whose blood council cruelly ruled our sweet Flanders.
> My father died at the *Steen* and my mother escaped with us

106 On the memory culture of the Dutch Revolt in Haarlem and other towns in the Netherlands, see the forthcoming dissertation of Marianne Eekhout. See also: Marianne Eekhout, 'De kogel in de kerk. Herinneringen aan het beleg van Haarlem, 1573–1630,' in: *Holland. Historisch Tijdschrift* 43/2 (2011), pp. 108–119.

107 Jan Sieuwertsz. Kolm, *Nederlants treur-spel. Inhoudende den oorspronck der Nederlandsche beroerten, 'tscheyden der ed'len, 'tsterven der graven van Egmont, Hoorn, ende der Batenborgers*, Amsterdam, 1616.

108 Van Zevecote, 'Belech van Leyden,' p. 233.

to wealthy Holland, where they first held us in contempt,
but the noble magistrate decided wisely,
that no strangers should be worried nor sigh in poverty.
Oh, when I think of that day, oh when I speak of it
(Blessed be Amsterdam, oh wealthy town)
My eyes become wet with warm tears,
that renew my longing for the ever so beautiful Belle.[109]

By recounting the traumatic events of the past and the steadfastness of the protagonist's father who was executed for his beliefs, De Koningh distinguishes Flemish exiles from other migrants. The account of his refusal to honor the statue of St Mary is a direct reference to the Old Testament narrative of the exiled Israelites who did not kneel before the idols of the Babylonians and were therefore thrown into the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:12). In De Koningh's play, Flemish refugees are given a special status. According to the play, many other poor migrants, particularly Germans, did indeed come to Holland for purely economic reasons. Southern Netherlandish refugees, on the other hand, suffered a martyr-like fate and had to flee because of their convictions. Their commitment to religion and the common political cause of the Revolt made them rightful inhabitants of the Northern Provinces.

Later in the seventeenth century other Flemish authors went even further to justify the refugees' position in their new homes, and linked Holland's very wealth directly to the hard-working and skilled newcomers from the Southern Netherlands. In 1659 Pieter de la Court, a descendant of migrants from Ypres who had made a fortune in the textile business, wrote a treatise on the welfare of Leiden in which he gave an account of the town's economic

109 Abraham de Koningh, *'Tspel van Sinne vertoont op de Tweede Lotery van d'Arme Oude Mannen ende Vrouwen Gast-Huys*, Amsterdam 1616, fol. B2r.–v:
Mijn Vader (goeden Man) om dat hy niet en eerde
Een steenen Marien-beeld/ 'tgeen voor ons deure stont:
Wirt hy helaes/ helaes! gevangen van dien Hont/
Wiens bloet raet (al te wreet) 'tzoet Vlaenderen regeerde/
Mijn Vader stirf op Steen. Mijn Moeder met ons vluchte
Naer 'tBolle-Hollant toe/ daer m'ons int eerst veracht/
Maer d'Edel Magistraet en wilden wijs bedacht
Geen Vreemders moeyelijck zijn/ noch doen in Armoe zuchten.
O als ick dien dagh gedenck/ of maer verteller
(Gezegent Amsterdam, O neeringh rijcke Stadt/)
Maeck ick mijn Ooghen noch met warme Tranen nat/
Vernieuwende den lust van 'toverschoone Belle.

development from the year 1300 onwards.[110] In De la Court's historical account, medieval Leiden was an insignificant town in which everyone who asked for it was granted citizenship. According to the treatise, it was the migration from Flanders that made Leiden the city it had become. Before the arrival of the Southerners, the town had not had big canals and had occupied only a small spot that was now the city center.[111] Leiden had been benefiting from the presence of Flemish migrants since the Middle Ages. In De la Court's historical account, Leiden's wealth was dependent on the economic freedom it offered outsiders who brought capital and expertise to town. The town's history is presented in a narrative that relies on the opposition between conservative native regents trying to uphold a system of nepotism and real economic agents fighting for economic liberty against traditional monopolies and guild restrictions. In the conclusion of his argument, De la Court sums up: 'Therefore the fact remains that Leiden has never prospered without liberty, and that even in peace time it declined through restrictions[. . .].'[112]

De la Court's history of Leiden's success is in fact a history of migration. Countering the argument that local guilds had always been the motor of the local economy, De la Court offered an alternative explanation. From the medieval immigration of Flemings to Holland to the exodus during the Dutch Revolt and the influx of refugees from war-torn Germany after 1618 and from France, Brabant and Flanders in the 1630s, Leiden owed its economic success to strangers who were excluded from local guilds.[113] In order to strengthen its position, the town should diminish the influence of these organizations and liberalize the trade and production of local merchandise. Strangers and new citizens should be granted the same rights and privileges as natives and old, established families.[114]

It is significant that De la Court belonged to a different political camp than most other southern exiles, especially those earlier in the seventeenth century. The opposition between local natives who wanted to protect their traditional guilds and trade regulations and migrants who built new industries had earlier led to an affiliation of Flemings and Brabanders with the House of Orange that

110 De la Court, *Het Welvaren Van Leiden*.

111 Ibid., p. 1. See also: Jan Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden*, Leiden 1641, p. 43.

112 De la Court, *Het Welvaren Van Leiden*, p. 10: 'Het is oversulcks ende blyft waargtig dat Leyden nooit is toegenomen dan in Vryheid, ende dat hetzelven door dwand ook afgenomen is in volle Vreede [. . .].'

113 Ibid., p. 9.

114 Arthur Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age. The Political Thought of Johan and Pieter de la Court*, Leiden 2011, p. 159.

was powerful enough to oppose local and provincial interests in favor of the Union. De la Court belonged to the anti-Orange States faction. By the middle of the seventeenth century the situation had changed. The opposition between local regents and newcomers seeking influence was no longer automatically correlated to the struggle between provincial politicians of the local regent class with often Remonstrant or Libertine sympathies and centralist Orangists with a preference for Calvinism. De la Court combined aspects of both camps: he fought against the privileges of local families and organizations but at the same was a fierce critic of the House of Orange and strict Calvinism.[115]

In order to harmonize his political message with the history of the refugees in Holland, he had to rearrange some crucial and well-remembered episodes regarding the relations between natives and newcomers. In his treatise on Leiden he recalls the period of the Earl of Leicester as Governor General of the Netherlands and his Flemish sympathizers. While this episode had become iconic in the collective memory of the Republic and shaped the image of southern migrants as people inclined toward centralist politics and radical Calvinism, De la Court presents the situation from a different perspective:

> It is nonetheless true that in the year 1587 some Flemings have very imprudently collaborated with the Earl of Leicester to reform the government and thereby given occasion for a schism that cannot even be resolved in prosperous times and from which the magistrates of this town have more to gain than to lose. For this schism has served the regents as a pretext to keep the privilege to participate in the magistrate's affairs reserved to a few descendants of old patrician families. However, since this exclusion is only factual and arbitrary, but not grounded in any excluding law, it is in all regards more tolerable and less scandalous.[116]

115 See e.g.: Pieter de la Court, 'Voor-reden' to Viglius van Aytta, 'Grondig berigt van 't Nederlands oproer zo onder de hertogin van Parma, als den hertog van Alba. Beschreven in 't François,' in: Pieter de la Court (ed.), *Historie der gravelike regering in Holland*, Amsterdam(?) 1662, p. 209.

116 'Het is nochtans waaragtig, dat eenige Vlamingen in den jaare 1587 seer onvoorsigtlik met den Grave van Leycester aanspannende om de regeering te hervormen, occasie hebben gegeven tot een scheuring, die niet ligt staat geheeld te sullen werden in voorspoedige tyden, ende soo lange als deeser stede diensten meer voor, als nadeels geven: Want hetselven de Regeerders een genoegsaam pretext heeft gestekt, om de voordeelen van de Regeeringe dependerende, aan weynige nakomelingen der oude Borgers vast te maken. Maar vermits die seclusie is reëlik, daadelik, arbitrair, ende niet door kragt van eenige secludeende Wet; soo is deselven in alle manieren drageliker ende min aanstootelik.' (De la Court, *Het Welvaren Van Leiden*, p. 6.)

In this narrative, the Flemings were not the agents behind the Leicester Coup but had only been imprudent ('onvoorsigtlik') and only a few of them ('eenige Vlamingen') had been involved. While the involvement with Leicester had been a difficult episode in the collective memory of many migrants, De la Court gives it another meaning and function. The message of this narrative does not concern the dangers of Flemish radicalism but serves to warn of local nepotism that depended on the involvement of misguided migrants as a pretext to exclude strangers from public offices. However, the rift between strangers and locals is rhetorically closed: Since no formal law existed excluding Flemings, and the exclusion was the work of only a few influential local families and not based on an officially sanctioned act, Leiden is excused of anti-migrant sentiments. In De la Court's account, the opposition between Holland natives and Flemish newcomers is exposed as an outdated ideological construction—in reality, Flemings had played only a minor role in the Leicester Coup, and the families who had exploited the image of rebellious Flemings to exclude strangers had been few. Strangers and newcomers as well as locals belonged to the city and its history. The real antagonism in Leiden's society was not between migrants and non-migrants but between a small corrupt elite and the rest of the population.

The inclusion of southern migrants in new constructions of civic identity was accompanied by new ways of thinking about citizenship and belonging to the local community. It is therefore not surprising that the first theoretical and political treatises that reflected upon citizenship in the towns of the Dutch Republic were written by Flemish migrants. In the first one, *Het burgherlick leven* ('Civic life'), written in 1590, Simon Stevin, a first-generation migrant from Bruges, tried to define and describe citizens or burgers, including the behavior expected of them and the duties owed to their hometowns.[117] Instead of grounding citizenship in local civic lineages, Stevin defines it in terms of 'deliberate participation in civic life.'[118] True *burghers* are not those descended from local citizens but those commited to their hometowns and loyal to the local community. To Stevin, citizenship was a matter of free choice: when discussing the relationship between city magistrates and inhabitants, he calls the latter those who 'who have chosen this place' as their home.[119] This view

117 Simon Stevin, *Het burgherlick leven* (eds. Annie Romein-Verschoor en G. S. Overdiep), Amsterdam 1939. See on this work: Catherine Secretan, 'Simon Stevin's Vita politica. Het Burgherlick leven (1590). A practical guide for civic life in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century,' in: *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 28 (2012) 1, pp. 2–20.

118 Ibid., p. 20.

119 Stevin, *Het burgherlick leven*, p. 27.

is characteristic of Stevin's outlook as a migrant who could not legitimize his position in the new society by referring to his lineage.

Both Stevin and De la Court, who treated the subject in his *Consideratien van Staat, Ofte Politike Weeg-schaal* ('Considerations on the state, or: Political balance') seventy years after Stevin's treatise, aimed to formalize rules and regulations concerning citizenship. The rights and privileges of citizens of towns in the Dutch Republic varied from city to city and depended mostly on customary law and local traditions. Newcomers such as De la Court criticized these practices as arbitrary and non-transparent. They stimulated nepotism and maintained the positions of powerful networks and families who were not chosen according to qualities but rather to birth. Like Stevin, he called for transparent and thoroughly considered regulations that did not define citizenship by birth but by willingness to commit oneself to one's chosen town. In Leiden, where De la Court lived, migrants were able to buy citizen's rights but had to wait seven years to receive full citizenship and be admitted to public offices. De la Court argued that 'one should grant all foreigners who want to come to live in the Cities as much freedom as the other old inhabitants.'[120] For De la Court, those who were willing to commit themselves to their new hometowns were citizens as much as those whose ancestors had been citizens, and therefore the Holland towns should be considered the very *patria* of migrated Flemings.[121] The concept of 'citizenship by choice,' already present in the literary texts of Flemish authors such as Karel van Mander and other rhetoricians earlier in the seventeenth century, was now proclaimed in political and legal contexts.

Fragmentary Discourses

That the discourses that identified Southerners in Holland as radical Calvinists and loyal supporters of the House of Orange and Hollanders as lukewarm Protestants with more love for liberty than for religion were by no means consistent is shown by the many uses of this rhetoric. In 1663, in reaction to Pieter de La Court's writings, the eminent orthodox Calvinist theologian Gisbert Voetius wrote a pamphlet that not only identified his opponent as a latter-day Oldenbarnevelt but also used strong anti-immigrant language by calling

120 Pieter de la Court, cited after: Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age*, p. 159.

121 Ibid., p. 160.

De la Court a 'stinking and rotten Walloon.'[122] Among the followers of Voetius, one of the main protagonists of the Dutch 'Further Reformation,' were many descendants of Southern Netherlandish migrants for whom the history of persecution and exile was a substantial part of their Protestant identity. Voetius' slander against De la Court should not be interpreted as an expression of deep-rooted prejudice against southern migrants but rather as rhetoric that could be used for his argument in this specific instance:

> [...] see there appear a degenerate, stinking and rotten Walloon (deviating from the good maxims of the old and loyal Walloons who left their fatherland and everything else and proved themselves as keen supporters of the Reformed religion and the prince) and overthrow the foundation of the provinces' government with his writings and his corruptive ideas against the Union and (which even more important) Reformed religion. Furthermore he dares to assert against the known truth and the histories, that Prince Willem, the Elder, and the other Lords of the House of Nassau have done hardly anything for our freedom and religion [...].[123]

The 'stinking and rotten Walloon' is contrasted with his ancestors who had left their homes and everything they had for the sake of religion and had always been loyal to the Prince of Orange. Calling someone a stranger could obviously be used as an *ad hominem* argument without being an expression of a principled anti-immigrant stance. The rhetoric of Flemish Mennonites such as Marijn De Brauwer, Holland regents such as Gerrit van der Laen and Cornelis Pietersz. Hooft, who had Flemish friends and family members, and orthodox Calvinists such as Voetius, who made use of such language, show that discourses of exclusion were still alive far into the seventeenth century but also that they were highly permeable and fragmentary. Despite occasional deployments of such discourses, migrants and their descendants had become more and more rooted in their new homes, and their past was incorporated into local and national memory canons. Fleeing for their faith and choosing northern towns as new homes to which they were willing to commit themselves as loyal citizens made the migrants part of local communities.

122 Gisbert Voetius, *Den Ver-resenen Barnevelt, betabbert met alle sijne Politycke Maximen*, Zierikzee 1663, fol. B3.

123 Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

The Reinvention of Family History

Family Memories and the Change of Generations

When London alderman John La Motte died in 1655, he was widely known and celebrated as an exemplary believer whose life bore such a powerful testimony to his Christian piety that the Puritan author Samuel Clarke included La Motte's biography in his work on 'The lives of sundry eminent persons in this later age.'[1] La Motte, whose family came from Flanders, served the Dutch-speaking Austin Friars stranger church as an elder and deacon. He organized relief funds for persecuted Calvinists in Bohemia and Piedmont and made vigorous efforts on behalf of his afflicted coreligionists on the continent. A crucial element in the hagiographical narratives of La Motte's life was his own heritage of religious exile and persecution; he had been born in Colchester to Protestant parents who had left their hometown of Ypres for England during the persecution under the Duke of Alba in the late 1560s. According to his biographers, it was due to his parents' uncompromising allegiance to their Reformed faith that their son grew up as a godly and pious man who did not ignore the fate of his persecuted coreligionists abroad. In his funeral sermon, preached by Fulk Bellers, La Motte was compared to the patriarch Abraham who had left his homeland of Chaldea to seek the land God had promised him. Even during his lifetime La Motte seems to have compared himself to biblical exiled heroes such as Moses and Abraham; on occasions such as the coronation of Elizabeth I and his birthday, he used to invite friends to meet at his home and, as

> he would often say, he had desired their company, *to eat bread with him before the Lord* (as *Jethro* and *Moses* did) in remembrance of such and such signal *Mercies* and *Deliverances*, whereof *his memory was a living Chronicle*, especially those grand Deliverances, both before and since the *Reformation*, from under the great sufferings and bloody *Persecutions* in *France*, and the *Low Countries*, whereof he would often discourse in so punctuall and feeling a manner, as if he had been an eye-witness, yea a sharer in them, taking many arguments thence of encouraging both himself and others, to be still *mindfull of them in bonds and miseries, as*

1 Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age*, London 1683, part 2, p. 102.

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> *being themselves in the body*: saying, why, *their case might have been ours, or may be yet, who knows*?[2]

The remembrance of his forefathers who had left Flanders for England evidently played a central role at these commemorative meetings. La Motte, though born in England and participating in local London politics as alderman of the city, strongly identified with his parents' exile. His sense of belonging to a diaspora of Reformed refugees all over Europe seems to have been the cornerstone of his religious identity and personal devotion.

According to Ole Peter Grell, people like La Motte belonged to the last generation of the international Calvinist diaspora. In the next generation, Grell argues, the bond with the exile heritage of their forefathers became diluted, and individuals began to conceive of themselves primarily as Dutch, German or English rather than as exiled strangers in foreign lands. Grell's observation seems accurate: the children of La Motte and his contemporaries did indeed marry into English, German or Dutch families and become absorbed in the host societies of their parents.[3] However, as the systematic examination of family histories and genealogical records of sixteen migrant families shows, even among these later generations memories of exile continued to be preserved and transmitted not only in various stranger churches but also, and perhaps more prominently, in family circles. Intermarrying with locals and participating in the social and political life of their new host societies did not prevent migrants and their descendants from continuing to appropriate and refashion the diasporic identities of their forefathers. However, the exile memories of subsequent generations of migrants were, of course, not the same as those of their forebears and had to be translated into the specific context of each new generation and its living conditions in a changing society. As documented in genealogical accounts, letters and other sources, the children and grandchildren had to reinvent and reinterpret the past of their ancestors. In many cases the same accounts were rewritten generation after generation. By comparing the various hands and examining crossed-out passages in the text, it is possible to attribute changes to specific family members from later generations. As these additions and modifications of the chronicles show, exile narratives were often blended with discourses and historical references that were shared with the native societies in which the migrants lived.

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2 Fulk Bellers, *Abrahams Interment, or, The good old-mans buriall in a good old age. Opened in a sermon at Bartholomews exchange, July 24, 1655, at the funerall of the worshipfull John Lamotte, Esq., sometimes alderman of the city of London,* London 1656, f. F4ff.

3 Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 307.

The topic of generational identities and memories was first addressed and studied in early twentieth-century German sociology. As Karl Mannheim postulated in 1928 in his influential *The Problem of Generations*, every generation understands itself in terms of shared experiences and a characteristic attitude towards past and present.[4] Mannheim did not conceive of generations as unquestionable biological entities but rather as social constructs projected on cohorts of contemporaries themselves or by members of other generations. According to Mannheim, formative experiences that shape the political and social consciousness of members of a distinct generation occur in late adolescence and early adulthood or between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five.[5] While only knowledge acquired from personal first-hand experiences constitutes a genuine generational consciousness, he states, events preceding the life of a generation are perceived and interpreted according to these formative experiences. An impressive empirical study from the late 1980s by Howard Schuman and Jacqueline Scott, through a survey of more than a thousand Americans about important events in their lives, confirmed Mannheim's age categories. As Schuman and Scott were able to show, the consciousness of historical events as well as the meanings attached to them differed considerably between generations.[6] While, for example, individuals between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine associated World War II primarily with the triumph of liberty and justice against barbarism, which evoked feelings of patriotism, older people, who could recall the 1940s, remembered the war primarily in terms of the tragedy of the victims and fallen soldiers.[7]

Considering these modern observations, we should be aware of the specific role of any new generation that reproduced and inscribed itself into its family history and the memories handed down to them not only by their direct ancestors but also by the wider medial surroundings that merged various generational experiences. As the source material shows, memories of the family past became invested not only with new and different meanings by later generations, but were sometimes intentionally manipulated, especially when claims about someone's family history could impact one's social status and position. The lives of one's ancestors were, of course, much more important in early modern societies than today, and the need to present one's ancestry in brighter

4 Karl Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations,' in: Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. by Paul Kecskemeti, London 1952, pp. 276–322.

5 Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations,' p. 300.

6 Howard Schuman, Jacqueline Scott, 'Generations and Collective Memories,' in: *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (June 1989), pp. 359–381.

7 Ibid., p. 372.

terms was often strong. Because descending from a family identified as treacherous or poor could seriously affect one's social status and, in the case of the elite, one's political career, the past often needed to be handled with care. At the same time, not all change in perspective regarding family pasts was the result of deliberate manipulation; much of it resulted from organic changes in collective memories and the impact of new experiences of specific generations. Even in cases where family memories meticulously tried to preserve the past with evidence of original historical documents, for example, the sources were put into new contexts, charged with new meanings and reinterpreted in the light of contemporary experiences.

Family Memories between the Diaspora and Host Societies

While studies on early modern refugees from the Netherlands have sought to determine at what point individuals ceased identifying with their exile past and started seeing themselves as German, English or Dutch, I suggest a change of focus. Instead of posing the question of when identification with the diaspora ended, we should rather ask how diasporic identities and memories of flight and persecution were translated into German, Dutch and English contexts.[8] As the following cases show, neither political participation in their new societies nor intermarriage with locals ended the memory cultures of migrants.

Migration sociologists such as Mary C. Waters and Herbert J. Gans have stressed the agency of descendants of migrants regarding their 'ethnic options.' As Waters shows, descent is not a self-explanatory quality but needs to be appropriated from generations that often reinvent their heritage, adding different meanings and functions to identifying with the migrant past.[9] According to Gans, migrant identity in later generations often becomes manifest as 'symbolic ethnicity and religiosity.'[10] Belonging to a certain group affects individuals in less immediate forms and, often, at lower costs. A problem of the application

8 See e.g.: Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 307; Grell, 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network.' Al and Lesger, 'Twee volken besloten binnen Amstels wallen?'; Gerard van Gurp, 'Bosschenaars in de verstrooiing.', J. Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem*, especially pp. 39f. and Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek*, especially pp. 266ff.

9 Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options. Choosing Identities in America*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1990.

10 Herbert J. Gans, 'Symbolic Ethnicity. The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America.' in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1979), pp. 1–20; Herbert J. Gans, 'Symbolic Ethnicity and Symbolic Religiosity. Towards a Comparison of Ethnic and Religious Acculturation,' in: Ethnic and Racial Studies 17 (1994), pp. 577–592.

of this concept in an early modern context is that it is almost impossible to define where 'actual' ethnicity ends and 'symbolic ethnicity' begins; however, it allows us to think of migrants and their descendants as citizens of their new societies yet belonging to different imagined groups. Although fully 'assimilated,' descendants of Flemish refugees continued to refer to their forefathers' past until the eighteenth century or later. The preservation of the past did not necessarily produce isolated communities with memory cultures totally separate from historical narratives of the host societies; paradoxically, in many cases it was the very exile narrative itself that allowed for participation and integration in local social systems and networks. When migrants were successful in claiming to have suffered for the 'true faith,' they were able to use such claims to gain a higher social status among coreligionists in their new towns.

Virtually all the families studied in this chapter belonged to the higher social strata and some even to the economic and political elite of their host societies. As has been argued by scholars on early modern migration in the Netherlands, the social integration of Southern Netherlandish migrants in the Dutch Republic started in the lower social strata while migrants from the elite stayed in their own circles for relatively long periods and married fellow Southerners. Niek Al and Clé Lesger have even postulated a process of 'integration from below.'[11] Although there is much evidence that endogamy was practiced longer in elite migrant circles than in lower social strata, the rich and well-educated families were not less integrated because they often married within their own group; the relationship between the practice of endogamy and the preservation of the feeling of belonging to the diaspora is far from straightforward. As we will see, the practice of ex- or endogamy may actually not be a robust indicator of the degree of identification with the new host society or the lost homelands.[12] This observation is supported by Michael Driedger's study on Netherlandish Mennonites in Hamburg and Altona. As Driedger shows, marrying Mennonites from other European countries or local non-Mennonites did not stop identification with the exile community from the Netherlands, even though it often complicated inner-congregational relations and created challenges for the implementation of church discipline.[13]

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11 Al and Lesger, 'Twee volken besloten binnen Amstels wallen?', p. 140.

12 As Herbert J. Gans has remarked on sociological studies on religious acculturation of Jews in the United States: 'Intermarriage, religious as well as ethnic, has generally been treted as an index of ethnic acculturation, in part because so little is yet known about what goes on in these marriages.' (Gans, 'Symbolic Ethnicity and Symbolic Religiosity,' p. 583.

13 Michael D. Driedger, *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona During the Confessional Age*, Farnham 2002, pp. 154ff.

Reinventing Family History

In the first years after the migration from the Southern Netherlands, few families recorded their pasts in written historical narratives. As the later writings of second- and third-generation migrants suggest, memories were handed down orally, often in fragmented and contradictory form. Such was the case of the family of playwright Joost van den Vondel. In the last years of his life he often talked to Remonstrant minister Geraardt Brandt, who, in 1682, three years after Vondel's death, would write the playwright's biography. The account of his early life and the history of his persecuted parents from Antwerp were full of anecdotal details that suggest how the story was told within the family. According to Brandt, Peter Craanen, Vondel's maternal grandfather, tried to flee Antwerp as a Mennonite but was betrayed and had to escape his persecutors in haste. His pregnant wife Clementia, however, did not manage to escape and was sentenced to death. In order to prevent her execution, her cousin inquired 'if she could not be saved by having one of her children baptized as a Catholic by a priest.'[14] Brandt relates that Vondel's mother, who was already living with Peter Craanen in Cologne, was sent back to Antwerp to receive Catholic baptism in 1571. Clementia was indeed pardoned on her word that she would live as a Catholic in Antwerp. Once free, she fled to her husband and children in Cologne. As J. de Valk showed, this story was generally accurate; however, it was not Vondel's mother Sara who had been brought to Antwerp to be baptized but his aunt Anna.[15]

In the Vondel family history orally handed down to Geraardt Brandt, Vondel's father was also a refugee who had fled Antwerp to escape his Catholic persecutors. In fact, Joost van den Vondel the Elder had left his hometown in 1582 at a time when the city was firmly in the hands of Calvinist rebels and Mennonites were no longer violently persecuted.[16] In family memories like those of the Vondel family, the history of the ancestors was preserved in the biblical imagery of flight and persecution and told in an anecdotal way. In Brandt's account,

14 'Maar sedert uit den Markgrave verstaande, datze ten vuure was verweezen, en met zekeren Leeraar zou sterven, vondt hy zich in d'uiterste verlegenheit, badt om uitstel, en vraagde "Of men, een haarer kinderen van een' Priester Katholykelyk laatende doopen, haar niet zou konnen redden?" ' (Geraardt Brandt, *Het leven van Joost van den Vondel,* ed. by Marieke M. van Oostrom and Riet Schenkeveld van der Dussen, Amsterdam 1986, p. 8).

15 J. van der Valk, 'Vondels grootouders onder Alva om het geloof vervolgd,' in: *Annuarium societas studiosorum reformatorum* (1912), pp. 98–99.

16 Judith Pollmann, 'Vondel's Religion,' in: *Jan Bloemendaal and Frans-Willem Korsten, Joost van den Vondel (1589–1679). Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age*, Leiden 2012, p. 93.

the young parents of Vondel left Cologne when Joost the Elder learned that Mennonites in Holland enjoyed a greater measure of toleration:

> Following this advice, he, his wife and their children first went to Frankfurt and took a coach to Bremen, from where they went to Holland. They traveled in straitened circumstances, built a cradle between a few sticks and dried the diapers on the coach. Doing so, they displayed such modesty and demureness that their coachman, who carried this unassuming couple, said to someone: 'It is as if I travel with Joseph and Mary'.[17]

Obviously, many facts about the peregrinations of the family were changed during the course of time. Not only did the details of their flight from Antwerp shift, the route from Cologne to Holland sounds rather implausible. According to Brandt, Joost van den Vondel the Elder wanted to move to the Dutch Republic because of the tolerance for his religious confession; however, a consideration of the route via Frankfurt and Bremen suggests that these places were either added to the story to present the journey as longer and more troublesome, or the family first traveled southeast and then north for other reasons, perhaps to look for work. While the facts of the migration remain dubious, crucial interpretative details were preserved and retold, such as the story of the coachman who compared the young family to Mary and Joseph. The family history was not recorded in written form until the late seventeenth century and had by then become subject to reinterpretations and changes during its oral transmission.

Unlike many French Huguenot refugees, very few migrant families from the Southern Netherlands recorded their history in the first generation, and accounts of their migrations are rare in the family archives.[18] Only events such

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17 'Dien raadt volgende toogh hy met zyn vrouwe en kinderen eerst naar Frankfoort, van daar met de waagen op Breemen en voorts op Hollandt, zich onderweegen armelyk behelpende, maakende een wiegh tusschen eenige stokken, de luyeren droogende op den waaghen, met tekenen van zoodanige ingetoogenheit en zeedigheit, dat de Voerman, dit eenvoudigh paar voerende, tegens iemant zeide; 't is eveneens als of ik met Joseph en Maria over wegh reize.' (Brandt, *Het leven van Joost van den Vondel,* p. 11.)

18 On accounts of escaping and exile by first-generation Huguenot refugees, see e.g.: Carolyn Lougee Chappell '*The Pains I Took to Save My-His Family*. Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,' in: *French Historical Studies* 22 (1999), pp. 1–64; Carolyn Lougee Chappell, 'Paper Memories and Identity Papers: Why Huguenot Refugees Wrote Memoirs,' in: Bruno Tribout and Ruth Whelan (eds.), *Narrating the Self in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 121–138; Carolyn Lougee Chappell, 'Writing the Diaspora. Escape Memoirs and the Construction of Huguenot

as miraculous escapes, as in Hierounymus van der Voort's or Caspar Cooltuyn's autobiographical accounts, were sometimes recorded, though not as often as in the French Protestant diaspora, where such stories became popular.[19] In the Netherlands, such first generation autobiographical accounts of flight and exile are comparably rare. Individuals who had migrated alone or with their parents sometimes produced autobiographical texts in which they occasionally included passages about their parents and other ancestors, such as in the autobiographies of the scholar Caspar Barlaeus and ministers Willem Baudartius and Jan de Wallois, but they rarely made mention of their migrations or their lives in their former homes.[20] Even among the writings of numerous migrants who recorded the birth dates of their children, spouses and other family members, the acquisition of houses and other noteworthy events, accounts of their flights from the South are very scarce.[21] Most of the written records and narratives of past migrations were produced by second and third generation migrants, often not until the mid-seventeenth century. As the cases of the Thijs and De Bacher families in chapter 2 of this book show, the 'hot memory' that inspired hopes for a future in the lost homeland was silenced once a return became impossible. While memories of the past in Flanders and

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Memory,' in: Philipp Benedict, Hugues Daussy and Pierre-Olivier Léchot (eds.), *L'identité huguenote. Faire mémoire et écrire l'histoire* (*XVI^e–XXI^e siècles*), Geneva 2014, pp. 261–278. See also: Philipp Benedict, 'Some Uses of Autobiographical Documents in the Reformed Tradition,' in: Kaspar von Greyerz, Hans Medick and Patrice Veit (eds.), *Von der dargestellten Person zum erinnerten Ich: Europäische Selbstzeugnisse als historische Quellen* (*1500–1850*), Cologne 2001, pp. 355–368.

19 Van der Voort, *Een schoon profijtelik boeck*, fol. e10r; Cooltuyn, *Dat Evangeli der Armen*, 139.

20 See: P. C. Molhuisen (ed.), 'Leven van Willem Baudaert door hemzelven beschreven,' Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap 5 (1849), pp. 225–249; Koert van der Horst, 'A "Vita Casparis Barlaei" written by Himself,' in: *Lias. Sources and Documents Relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas*, vol. 9 (1982), afl. 1, pp. 57–83. For De Wallois, see: UB Amsterdam, collectie handschriften, III, F13.

21 See the genealogical records of the Southern Netherlandish patrician families Des Tombe, Boudaen Courten, Van Citters, Van der Muelen, Godin, Martens, De Geer van Jutphas, Van der Merct, Hochepied, Coymans, Thijs, Van Panhuys, Vivien, Rademacher, Malapert and Schepens: Het Utrechts Archief, 26 Archief van de familie Des Tombes, Familie Des Tombes, inv. nr. 1; Familie Boudaen Courten, inv.nr. 1080; Familie van Citters, inv.nr. 689; 57 Archief van de familie Van der Muelen, inv.nr. 1; 67 Archief van de familie Huydecoper, Familie Coymans, inv.nrs. 10; 16; 17; 68 Archief van de familie De Geer van Jutphas, inv. nr. 1; 204 Archief van het geslacht de Malapert, Stukken van de familie Malapert, inv.nrs. 6; 7; 9, Stukken van de familie Godin, inv.nr. 318, 319, 320, 321; 2004 Archief van de familie Martens van Sevenhoven, inv.nr. 1; Nationaal Archief Den Haag, ARA I, (Den Haag), Archief Van Panhuys 1.10.64; GA Dordrecht, 85 Collectie Balen, inv. nr. 20.

Brabant had originally served to fuel the hope of an early return, the failure of the military campaign to 'liberate' the Habsburg territories silenced their articulation. In many cases the next generations had to reconstruct a forgotten and fragmented family history and attempt to preserve what they could of the exile past of their forefathers.

We can observe this phenomenon in many of the patrician families from the Southern Netherlands in Holland and Utrecht. From the mid-seventeenth until the eighteenth century, descendants of migrants tried to preserve what they had heard about their family histories from previous generations. Family members often corresponded with each other to collect information about the past. Members of the De Geer van Jutphas, Van Citters, Martens, Hochepied and Van der Muelen families meticulously collected and shared evidence and looked for original documents about their histories.[22] Around 1700, Willem van der Muelen, great-grandson of former Antwerp alderman Andries van der Meulen, who had left his hometown for Holland, collected material evidence of his ancestor's refugee past, such as a letter of recommendation by the rebel government of Antwerp, to which he added that his great-grandfather had always behaved as a good official and remained loyal to the rebel cause, which had forced him to leave his hometown:

> Certification by the magistrate of Antwerp that my great-grandfather Andries van der Muelen, Lord of Ranst and Millegem and member of the Council of Brabant, has been an alderman in this town and has always behaved as a good regent. He has requested this declaration when he left Antwerp after the town had surrendered to the Duke of Parma. Date: August 13, 1585.[23]

The Van der Muelen family also preserved a silver tazza that had been given to Andries van der Meulen in 1582 with an inscription in which his loyalty to the town and the Reformed religion was praised.[24] The family members'

22 Het Utrechts Archief, 68 Archief van de familie De Geer van Jutphas, inv.nr. 1; 57 Archief van de familie Van der Muelen, inv.nr. 58; 26 Archief van de familie Des Tombes, Familie van Citters, inv.nr. 689.

23 'Certificatie van de Magistraet te Antwerpen dat mijn overgrootvader Andries van der Muelen Heere van Ranst en Millegem, Raet van Staete van Brabant is geweest schepen in derselver stadt, en sich altijt als een goet regent gedragen heeft, welcke certificatie sijn Ed. versocht heeft toen sijn Ed. van Antwerpen is gaen woonen nadat die Stadt aen den Hertogh van Parma was overgegaen, van dato 13 Aug. 1585.' (Het Utrechts Archief, 57, inv.nr. 27).

24 Wim Nys (ed.), *Zilver uit Antwerpen*, Antwerp 2006, p. 42 (exhibition catalog).

engagement with their ancestors' past had first become manifest in the second generation after the migration to the Dutch Republic: Andries van der Muelen the Younger, Willem's grandfather, was deeply concerned with proving that the Van der Muelens were descendants of a Southern Netherlandish nobleman who had served the King of France in the eleventh century. In the 1640s he corresponded frequently with his relatives, particularly with his cousin Daniel de Hochepied, to gather more information about the assumed noble descent of his family and even changed his name from 'Van der Meulen' to 'Van der Muelen' when his genealogical studies seemed to suggest that this spelling was more correct.[25] In addition to this assumed connection to a noble family, it was the family's fate of having fled the South for the sake of the Reformed faith that interested him. In 1650 he asked Nicolas de Malapert, a friend of his parents from Antwerp, to sign an affidavit stating that his parents had left Antwerp in 1585 immediately after the siege of Parma, although the city's Protestant inhabitants had been granted a four-year grace period in which to settle their affairs before the mandatory obligation to convert to Catholicism came into force.[26] By procuring the affidavit he was able to prove that his parents had been uncompromising Protestants, unwilling to live under the Habsburg Catholic regime. He also recorded the story of his uncle Jan van der Meulen who had lost his life defending his hometown during the 'Spanish Fury,' a devastating mutiny of Habsburg soldiers in 1576.[27]

Like the Van der Muelen family, the descendants of Arnoud van Citters from Antwerp also started to recollect their family's exile past at a later stage. Their eighteenth-century account of their ancestors' fate is full of ambiguities and textual lacunas that they hoped to fill in the future. On Arnoud van Citters's parents, the family history notes:

> Cornelis van Citters, born:. . . . [sic] died 19 March 1599.
> Martina van Velsen, born:. . . . . [sic] died 8 September 1585.
> This marriage has brought forth eleven sons who all studied at the University of Louvain but some were forced to leave their hometown Antwerp in the fifteen hundreds due to the revolution in the Netherlandish Provinces, because they adhered to the party of the Reformed. Their father fled with them but their mother died stricken by grief and terror

25 Het Utrechts Archief, 57, inv.nr. 58.

26 Ibid., 57, inv.nr. 59.

27 Ibid., 57, inv.nr. 3.

during the looting and the violence that also destroyed their home and goods [. . .].[28]

While dates and exact family relationship were forgotten, the story of Martina, who had died of 'grief and terror,' remained part of the oral family history. This account was probably written by Jacob van Citters in the first half of the eighteenth century. Earlier notes on the Van Citters family past only contain fragmentary information on the various family members and Jacob was obviously not able to recover all the names and dates of birth of his Antwerp ancestors. Most of the names of the sons of Cornelis van Citters and Martina van Velsen Holland remain unknown and are left as an open lacuna in the text.[29] Even though Jacob van Citters used notes on the family history of relatives such as the Boudaen Courten and the Verheye families, his narrative remains full of voids and lacunas.

In the case of the Martens family, also from Antwerp, the same pattern is recognizable. Within the family circle, a wide range of fragmentary sources was transmitted to future generations in which the family history was not only preserved but also frequently rewritten. The narrative of the family's past was transmitted in various manuscripts and fragments that all heavily borrow from each other, and through a comparison of handwritings and textual structures it is possible to reconstruct how the family memories evolved and how the history of the family was rewritten by succeeding generations.[30]

Very much like Andries van der Meulen the Elder and Johan Thijs, Hans Martens did not leave much information about his flight from the South,

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28 Utrechts Archief, 26 Archief van de familie Des Tombes, Familie van Citters, Inv.nr. 841: 'Cornelis van Citters geb: . . . . [sic] gestorven 19 mt. 1599.
Martina van Velsen geb: . . . . . [sic] gest. 8 sep. 1585.
Uijt welk huwelijk hebben geprocreert elf soonen alle op de Universiteit van Leuven gestudeert hebbende maar door de opgecoomene Revolutie in de Nederlandse Provintien in de eeuw van vijfthien hondert, sijn eenighe der selven Soonen genootsaakt, (door dien de partij der Gereformeerden aancleefden), haar vaderlijke Stad Antwerpen te verlaten, alsook de vader, sijnde de moeder in de plundering en troublen binnen de voors. stad van schrik en droefheijt (alsoo haar huijs en goedt dat lot te beurt viel) overleden [. . .].'

29 Ibid., 'De vader met . . . . . [sic] in de provintie van Hollandt. Arnout en . . . . . [sic] in de provintie van Zeelandt en is de vader in 85 jaar sijns ouderdoms binnen Dordregt overleden, sijnde de rest sijner kinderen in andere landen verstrooijt, ofte om der spaansche tyrannie gebleven sonder dat daar ooijt meer van is gehoort.'

30 Het Utrechts Archief, 1002, inv.nrs. 2; 3; 4; 99. Inventory numbers 2 and 4 contain various manuscripts and fragments, sometimes bound together. Inventory numbers 3 and 99 contain two final synoptic versions that are based on the earlier manuscripts. Numbers 4 and 99 are written by Jacob Martens while number 3 was probably written after his death.

although later sources suggest that he sometimes talked to his children about their family's past. The only notes he left were in tabular form and concerned his parents and the births of his children, as well as some notes on his marriage and business.[31] Hans's son Carel was an ambitious youth who was so eager to enter the elite networks of Holland and Utrecht that he went to the Synod of Holland as a seventeen-year-old and asked everyone he thought important enough to write in his *album amicorum*.[32] We can find Francis Gomarus, Gisbert Voetius and other famous Counter-Remonstrant theologians in the book but also various members of the Nassau family and poets and scholars such as Daniel Heinsius. Carel Martens not only copied his father's autobiographical notes, he also added a more detailed biographical description and tried to find out as much as he could about his family's past.[33] In 1633, he invited his uncle Jacques Martens to Utrecht to confer with his half-brother Hans and to write down everything they recalled about their ancestors. When Carel's son Jacob married Aletta Pater, a girl from an influential Utrecht patrician family, Carel and his wife Jacoba Lampsins, also from a rich southern family, commissioned four paintings by Ferdinand Bol, which, as art historian Margriet van Eikema-Hommes has argued persuasively, represented the entrance of an exiled family into the established elite of Utrecht.[34] All four paintings show well-known biblical and classical foreigners and exiles such as Aeneas, Moses, Abraham and the people of Israel in Babylonian captivity. The depicted exiles are presented as victors who, despite the hardships of exile, had been successful in creating a new genealogy. Like Aeneas, the Martens and Lampsins families had founded a New Troy and, like Abraham and Moses, they were bound for the 'promised land' and a new generation of godly people. Just as with the La Mottes in England, the dissemination of the exile narrative could improve their status in the elite circles of Reformed orthodoxy.[35]

Jacob, Hans Martens' grandson, put his family's history into a more structured narrative form and recorded it in a 'memorie boeck' of which various copies and fragments are still extant.[36] Starting in 1663, Jacob took the notes of his father and grandfather and complemented them with things he knew

31 Ibid., 1002, inv.nr. 1.

32 Ibid., 1002, inv.nr. 40.

33 Ibid., 1002, inv.nr. 60.

34 Margriet van Eikema Hommes, *Art and Allegiance in the Dutch Golden Age. The Ambitions of a Wealthy Widow in a Painted Chamber by Ferdinand Bol*, Amsterdam 2012, pp. 151ff.

35 Ibid., p. 165.

36 Het Utrechts Archief, 1002, inv.nrs. 2; 3; 4; 99. Inv.nr. 2 contains the original manuscripts of Carel Martens, which were written after his meeting with his uncle Jacques, who provided him with information on the family's past.

FIGURE 5 *Ferdinand Bol*, Aeneas ontvangt een nieuwe wapenuitrusting uit handen van Venus in de werkplaats van Vulcanus, *Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.*

from family stories, such as the exact locations in Antwerp where his great-grandparents were buried. The actual narrative 'plot' begins with the migration of Hans and his siblings during the period of the very early Revolt:

> The children of Francoys Martens fled to Amsterdam for religion's sake under the Spanish persecution and were separated from each other during the reign of the Princess of Parma as well as the persecution of the Duke of Alba.[37]

37 Het Utrechts Archief, 1002, inv.nr. 2: 'De kinderen van Francoys Martens sijn onder vervolginge der Spaenjaerden om de religie, soo onder de princesse van Parma, als de vervolginge van Duc 'd Alva van den anderen gheraeckt.'

Even though Hans Martens' considerably older brothers were already young adults in the days of Margaret of Parma, Hans himself was born in 1555 and was only twelve years old when Margaret resigned and was replaced by the Duke of Alba. His notes show that Jacob was in doubt about the date his grandfather had left Antwerp:

> Hans Martens fled Antwerp for religion's sake during the troubles under the Duke of Alba in the year . . . (*lacuna in all existing manuscripts*) and left for Amsterdam with some of his brothers and sisters, where he settled down in silence as a merchant. Through the persecutions he had become a devout and godly man, who did not care about the grandeur of the world and because he wanted to avoid recognition, he refused to use his family's coat of arms.[38]

The lacuna in the text next to the year of Hans Martens' flight from Antwerp can be found in all existing copies of the manuscript. Obviously, the period of Alba and Margaret of Parma had left such a deep impression on the collective memory of the Dutch Republic that in the oral tradition the historical events of the 1560s and the 1580s became confused. It is, however, rather unlikely that the young teenager Hans had indeed left his hometown as early as the 1560s when his parents still lived in Antwerp. The first records of his existence in Amsterdam date from 1581, a time when Antwerp was still in rebel hands.

By the time of Jacob's marriage, the Martens family had already entered the Reformed elite of Utrecht, and the story of the grandfather who 'did not care about the grandeur and the haughtiness of the world' and had become a 'devout and godly man' in and through exile fit well into the circles of orthodox Reformed Utrecht during the era of Gisbert Voetius, the prominent theologian of the Dutch 'Further Reformation.' Nevertheless, this narrative also had a problematic aspect. The earliest versions of the manuscripts read:

> But [Hans Martens] has always said to his children that he descended from the best and finest families of Antwerp, but that he had learned

38 Ibid., inv.nr. 2: 'Hans Martens is uijt Antwerpen om de religie ende troubele tijden van Duc' d Alva in den jaer . . . naer Amsterdam gevlucht, met eenigen van sijn Broeders ende susters, alwaer Hans Martens sich stillekens heeft nedergeset, ende de negotie bijder handt genomen, ende een devot ende godtsalig man door de vervolgingen met de grootsheyt der werelt niet behept, als mede omdat hij niet bekent soude worden heeft syn eijgen wapen noijt willen voeren maer heeft de twee ossenhoofden met een schaepshooft op een vergult velt aengenomen welck wapen naderhandt bij sijne desententen altijt is gevoert [. . .].'

> through the persecution to hold in disdain the grandeur of old families and to keep himself quiet and humble and therefore refused to use his coat of arms which could be found everywhere among his popish family in Antwerp.[39]

At the time the story was written, the Martens family was acting like an 'old family' and had become conscious of its dynastic identity. Jacob himself recognized the inconsistency of this narrative. In later manuscripts he changed the text and crossed out all the passages about Hans's contempt 'for old and famous families.' The phrase 'he had learned through the persecution to hold in disdain the grandeur of old families' was erased and replaced with: '[. . .] the persecutions taught him to forget his ancestry.'[40] The final manuscript that makes use of the older versions took over this adjustment and added that Hans Martens had been persecuted 'for religion's sake' and that his estrangement from his family in the South was due to their Catholicism.[41]

The Geographical Re-Imagination of the Family Past

While families like the La Mottes in England and the Martens family in the Dutch Republic represented their pasts in terms of godliness and confessional steadfastness when entering Puritan and orthodox-Reformed networks, others deployed discourses of patriotism and national consciousness to establish positions in their host societies. Some families also replaced the discourse of religious exile with one of geographical belonging and Netherlandish patriotism, which they hoped could help their integration into the regent networks of Holland and Utrecht. Members of the wealthy Van Panhuys family, whose forefathers had also fled Antwerp, not only invented a noble lineage for their forefathers but also strongly emphasized the notion of a common Netherlandish ancestry that united them with their neighbors. While most of their ancestors originally came from Limburg and the region around Trier and Liège, they had established themselves in the elite merchant circles of Antwerp during the sixteenth century. Cousins Servaes and Batholomeus van Panhuys

39 Ibid.: '[. . .] doch heeft [Hans Martens] aen sijne kinderen altijd geseyt dat hij vande grootste ende fraaijste geslachten van Antwerpen was, maer dat door de vervolginge geleert was de grootsheyt van geslachten te verachten ende sich nederich ende still te houden, als mede dat onder sijn paepse vrienden sijn rechte wapen, ende geslacht boom altijd te vinden was.'

40 Ibid., 1002, inv.nr. 4; 99.

41 Ibid., 1002, inv.nr. 3.

collected many documents about their family from the Southern Netherlands and argued that they were compatriots of Hollanders and Utrechters rather than 'foreigners.' Their insistence on the family's Netherlandish origin was successful; by the 1640s the first family members had become regents in several Holland and Utrecht towns. Bartholomeus, for example, became the highest bailiff of Amersfoort, and Servaes was made pensionary of Schoonhoven. Servaes also became a member of the States of Holland and called himself 'Lord of Schoonhoven' even though this title did not have any clearly defined meaning.[42]

Servaes' and Batholomeus' ambitions, however, were even greater, and they tried to gain acceptance as members of the Holland and Utrecht nobilities. When in 1642 Bartholomeus presented a number of documents to prove his noble ancestry, the Utrecht *ridderschap* declared that they believed his claims of nobility but could not accept him because recognition of nobility was a provincial issue and descent from Southern Netherlandish nobles did not count.[43] The cousins did not give up their attempts and continued to try to be recognized as nobles. In their family chronicle they stretched the unity of all Netherlandish provinces and extended the historical realm of the Low Countries by presenting not only its actual inhabitants but also Germans and Frenchmen from the border regions as descendants of ancient Batavians. They introduced the history of their bloodline with a lengthy account of the ancient Germanic tribe that populated the Low Countries and that had been praised by Tacitus for their virtues and bravery.[44] The Batavian past was a popular motif in the historical discourse of the seventeenth-century Low Countries, though the actual geographical origin of the Batavians was disputed by the inhabitants of various provinces of the Northern Netherlands who claimed to be descendants of this legendary tribe.

These disputes are not mentioned in the Van Panhuys chronicle, and a common Netherlandish origin is evoked; the ancient Low Countries are portrayed as stretching from the Meuse region to northern France and even the French

42 The descendants of the Van der Muelen family also called themselves 'lords of Ranst' (Andries van der Muelen), Laag Nieuwkoop, Blijenburg, Gieltjesdorp and Portengen (Willem van der Muelen). On the ambivalent character of such titles, see: Detlev H. H. van Heest and Lambertus van Poelgeest, 'Leydenaars en hun heerlijke titels', in: *Leids Jaarboekje* 75 (1938), pp. 119–138, esp. p. 119f.

43 Nationaal Archief Den Haag, 1.10.64, inv.nr. 25. On the difficulties faced by newcomers trying to enter the exclusive oligarchies of the Holland and Zeeland nobilities, see: H. van Dijk and D. J. Roorda, 'Social Mobility under the Regents of the Republic,' in: *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* IX (1976), pp. 76–102.

44 Regionaal Archief Leiden, LB 6331, *Cort verhael van het out ende adelijck geslachte van Panhuijs, afcomstich uut den lande ende vorstendom van Limburg*, 1270–1817, fol.5r.

noble house of Capet is included in the list of old Netherlandish noble families. While the Batavian myth had often been used to prove provincial superiority, in the Panhuyses' account it was deployed to serve the notion of a bond between all Netherlanders and to create a notion of unity. By appealing to the patriotism of the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic, the Panhuys family tried to evoke a connection between themselves and the elite of their new homes in Holland and Utrecht. The same discourses were used in petition letters, in which they claimed their Netherlandish noble ancestry. While the Holland and Utrecht knighthoods were rather unimpressed, the various new towns of the family members accepted the claims and granted them the privileges of nobles. In 1643 the magistrate of The Hague declared:

> Following earnest and patient requests, the following act is granted: The burgomaster of The Hague, who has been presented some documents which prove Lord Servaes van Panhuys is of noble descent from within the Netherlandish provinces and therefore granted exemption from all civic taxes.[45]

In 1660, Amsterdam recognized the family as being of noble origin.[46] In both towns, the decision to grant them the privilege of civic tax exemptions was based not merely on their claims of nobility but on their assumed descent from a Netherlandish noble family.

Even though these claims were sometimes disputed during the seventeenth century, the family was able to enter the elite circles of the Dutch Republic. For centuries, the emphasis on their Netherlandishness and their 'natural' bonds with their neighbors in the North remained a crucial element of the tale they told about their history. When the family was at last officially admitted to the nobility in the new Kingdom of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, the family chronicles were extended and the Panhuyses were presented as an old and well-established Netherlandish family.[47]

While the first generation of migrants of the Panhuys family fashioned themselves as religious exiles on a pilgrimage, such language was replaced by

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45 Nationaal Archief Den Haag, 1.10.64, inv.nr. 8: 'Op 't versouck ende lang ernstich aenhouden is verleent de volgende acte: Burgemeester van 's Gravenhage verthoont sijnde eenighe bescheyden daer by haer ghebleecken dat Jr. Servaes van Panhuijs is van adelijcken exctractie uytten Nederlantsche Provincie, Hebben sijne Edt. vergunt ende vergunnen hem mits dese vrydommen van alle des stadts accijsen [sic].'

46 *Cort verhael van het out ende adelijck geslachte van Panhuijs*, fol. 18r–v, 24r–v.

47 Ibid., fol. 5r.

references to their Netherlandish ancestry in the seventeenth century writings of their descendants.[48] Servaes Panhuys and his cousin Bartholomeus were particularly concerned with the family past and made and collected many drawings of houses, tombs, coats of arms and monuments of their forefathers. They were particularly proud of a memorial pillar that had been raised by Pieter Panhuys in 1566 in the Ardennes highlands close to Jalhay. In 1670, Servaes Panhuys asked some younger family members to travel to the Southern Netherlands to look for the pillar. After they found it they made some drawings and requested an affidavit from a Maastricht notary confirming that their description corresponded to the real pillar.[49] Although they noted that the monument, which was later reconstructed and still exists today, had been destroyed in a storm, Servaes was now able to prove the accounts of his ancestors and their fame in the Southern Netherlands. The inscription on the pillar's foot was depicted correctly on the drawing the Panhuyses showed the Maastricht notary who signed the affidavit; however, on later drawings the family made and preserved, they changed an inconspicuous but important detail: while the actual inscription identified Pieter Panhuys as 'natif de Limborch,' his descendants replaced this part with 'Burgemr. d' Envers.'[50] Pieter Panhuys the Elder had been an alderman of Antwerp but never a burgomaster; however, for the status of his ambitious descendants it was clearly important to give him a higher rank.

While such obvious forgeries were rather exceptional, many migrant patrician families made dubious claims about their ancestors. A pronounced interest in their family genealogy was rather common among later generations of Southern Netherlandish migrants who sought to define their position not only among the Holland and Utrecht elites, but also in German exile towns.[51] The Van Panhuyses were related to a number of other southern families in the Dutch Republic who were concerned with their genealogies and were attempting to trace them back to assumed noble ancestors. These included

48 When Pieter Panhuys died in 1585 in Amsterdam, his friend Johan Radermacher wrote a poem for his tombstone that depicted him as a religious pilgrim (Bostoen e.a. [eds.], *Album Joannis Rotarii*, fol. 169r.).

49 Nationaal Archief Den Haag, 1.10.64, inv.nr. 10. Other drawings of the pillar and other family monuments can be found in: Ibid, 1.10.64, inv.nr. 15, 16, 54 and in the *Cort verhael van het out ende adelijck geslachte van Panhuijs*, fol. 41v–44r.

50 Nationaal Archief Den Haag, 1.10.64, inv.nr. 10.

51 Also, artist and publisher Joachim von Sandrart invented a noble ancestry when he lived in Nuremberg. See: *LebensLauf und Kunst-Werke Des WolEdlen und Gestrengen Herrn Joachims von Sandrart/ auf Stockau/ Hochfürstl. Pfalz-Neuburgischen Rahts*, Nürnberg 1675, p. 4.

FIGURE 6 *The 'Colonne Panhaus'* (*Nationaal Archief Den Haag, 1.10.64, inv.nr. 8*). PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR.

the Godin, Malapert, De la Faille and Vivien families as well as the Van der Muelens, who were related to the Della Failles.[52] For families with great

52 See for the genealogical records of these families: Het Utrechts Archief, 204, inv.nrs. 318, 319, 320, 321, 322 (De Malapert); Ibid., 57, inv.nrs. 6,7 (Della Faille); Ibid., 57, inv.nr. 3 (Van der Muelen); Nationaal Archief Den Haag, 1.10.64, inv.nr. 88 (Godin).

ambitions, a migratory past could in fact be very attractive since their claims to nobility could not easily be refuted. Dutchmen whose parents came from the region where they currently resided could never make such claims since their ancestry could quickly be examined, but for those who sought social advancement a migrant background was a great opportunity.

How important the reputation of their parents and grandparents was to newcomers wanting to participate in local elite circles of the Dutch Republic is illustrated in their attempts to legally protect the status of their ancestors. Presenting affidavits and personal testimonies about the lives of their forefathers was not uncommon among the elite of second- and third-generation Southern Netherlandish migrants in the middle of the seventeenth century. Not only the Van Panhuys family but also the Van der Muelens and De la Courts requested and preserved affidavits that proved that their ancestors were of respectable lineage and had served the right political causes.[53] The reputation of their parents and grandparents was not only a question of personal pride and honor but also an indication of one's qualification for public office. When fervent anti-Orangist Pieter de la Court, born of Ypres parents, was attacked by anonymous sympathizers of the House of Orange, he and his parents became targets of slander and suspicion. In 1648, an anonymous Orangist pamphlet appeared depicting his father, Pieter De la Court the Elder, as a pimp:

> That filthy bastard has filled
> his shabby purse with gold,
> through lying, cheating
> and skimping on every penny.
> Hypocrisy and falsehood
> have made that odd rogue rich.
> His father was a pimp,
> How come he's so well off?[54]

53 See for the affidavits of the Van der Muelen family: Het Utrechts Archief, 57, inv.nrs. 27 and 59. For the De La Court family, see: Noordam, 'Leiden als ideale stad,' p. 22.

54 'Die goore rot-sack heeft met gout
Zyn schurfde sack ghevult:
Door lieghen ende bedrieghen,
En knibbelen op een deuyt.
Door deuchdens schyn, en als vals te zyn
Wiert ryck, een vreemde guyt.
Want vader was een hoere-weert
Hoe komt nu rijck die quant?'
(Cited in: Noordam, 'Leiden als ideale stad,' p. 22.)

De la Court took this attack very seriously and felt he had to respond. De la Court asked his son-in-law, a professor at Leiden University, to write a declaration in the name of four witnesses who testified that they had known De la Court's father and that he had been a wealthy farmer in the Ypres region known for his honesty. In addition to his farm, Pieter the Elder had kept a hostel, but his son had it recorded that it had been frequented by respectable burghers and nobles from Brussels and Ypres. Being called a descendant of an innkeeper with a dubious reputation or even pimp was an intolerable slight that needed to be fended off. De la Court felt that such slander required a response in the form of an official affidavit. Even if the defamation was anonymous, it was serious enough to demand the response of a legal statement and the declaration of four witnesses. The good reputation of the ancestors was of crucial importance, especially for newcomers who wanted to establish themselves in the ranks of the local elite.

Permeable Memories

Like the Van Panhuyses and Van der Muelens, members of the Coymans family from Flanders were also eager to prove its respectable descent and enter the regent circles of Holland. In 1624, Maria Coymans married the Amsterdam regent Joan Huydecoper.[55] From then on, marriages with the well-established Huydecoper family and other Amsterdam regent dynasties became common, and the family was able to secure its influence in local politics. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Coymans family was related not only to old Amsterdam regent families but also to other influential newcomers such as the merchants De Geer and Trip, who descended from Liège and Zaltbommel. Like these families, they undertook genealogical research and traced back their ancestry to lower nobles from the Southern Netherlands.[56] Despite their established position in the Amsterdam elite, the Coymans family never tried to hide its Southern origin; rather, its members loudly proclaimed their Flemish ancestry and, until the eighteenth century, continued a family chronicle, which described how and why their ancestors had moved to Holland.[57] They no longer had to choose between belonging to either the Amsterdam establishment or the southern newcomers; both their Flemish and Holland family histories were integrated and did not conflict with each other.

55 Het Utrechts Archief, 67, inv.nr. 28. On later marriages with members of the Huydecoper family, see e.g.: Ibid., 67, inv.nr. 49.

56 Ibid., 67, inv.nr. 11.

57 Ibid., 67, inv.nr. 10.

The family histories of the Martenses, Van der Muelens, Coymanses and many other southern families in the Republic show how memories were preserved long after their descendants had married into local families and begun to participate in local politics and cultural life. While exile narratives had initially emphasized the migrants' status as strangers who hoped to return to their homelands, from the second generation onwards their character and function changed: instead of stressing the differences between strangers and locals, the memory of an exile past helped the children of refugees build ties with the networks of local host societies. Stories of exile and suffering served as narratives of origin that legitimized the status of the migrant families as *homines novi*. The mists that had settled over some family origins before the time of migration could be seized upon to claim a higher social status; since the family was not known in the host society, stories about noble descent could hardly be disproved. Assertions that their ancestors had been so godly and pious that they had avoided any identification with popish relatives and had therefore been denied their ancestry were also appealing to the religious elites of their new towns.

Instead of forming exclusive 'memory ghettos,' migrant families developed memory cultures that did not separate them from the discourses and narratives of their host societies but in fact proved highly permeable. Migrant families easily combined their own exile narratives with the religious and political discourses of their host societies, such as the hospitality towards their ancestors under Queen Elizabeth and her restoration of Protestantism in England and the narrative of the struggle against the Spanish oppressors in the Dutch Republic. The imagined diaspora of the numerous refugee families from the Southern Netherlands should therefore not be understood as constituting a division between locals and strangers. It was not *despite*, but rather *because* of, the commemoration of their immigrant backgrounds that these families were able to enter local networks and attain higher social status. Becoming Dutch, English or German did not imply oblivion of the diasporic past; identification with the local society could be combined with the cultivation and reinvention of the exile narrative and identity.

These findings also carry some important methodological implications. While migrant diasporas are often understood as producing an exclusive form of identification, endogamy and the transmission of traditions and memories are often used as the most important indicators of the degree to which the diaspora remains extant.[58] However, as this chapter shows, the notion of a

58 See e.g.: Al and Lesger, 'Twee volken besloten binnen Amstels wallen?'; Van Gurp, 'Bosschenaars in de verstrooiing,' pp. 420ff.; Leo Adriaenssen, 'De brabantisering van Haarlem in 1579–1609,' in: *Noordbrabants historisch Jaarboek*, 24 (2007), pp. 102–135, there pp. 120ff.

transnational diaspora does not have to be diminished by the strengthening ties of the individual migrants with their host societies. In migration studies, a diaspora should therefore not be conceived of as something which is extractable from a given set of data on marriage patterns or social and economic behavior but rather as a horizon of belonging and identification which needs to be expressed only occasionally and which does not have to conflict with the loyalties migrants feel towards the communities in which they reside. As the cases of the La Mottes, Martenses and Van der Muelens show, the opposite could also occur: remembering exile strengthened their feeling of belonging to their host society. Being Protestant, English or Dutch and descending from an exiled family were identities so closely welded together that they were no longer separable.

CHAPTER 5

Ancient Landmarks of the Fathers: Maintaining Old Networks

In Pursuit of a Fleeing Horseman

On a loose paper covering personal notes and letters from his friends and relatives, Marcus Du Tour, lawyer and chamberlain of Stadholder William II, noted the following Latin poem:

> The noble eagle begets soft doves
> But his soul does never settle, (it is like a) fleeing horseman.
> Oh, the noble father's honesty, virtue and splendor,
> Are not inherited by birth, as has been proven many times.
> The present times[1]

He added to this poem a Bible verse (Proverbs 22. 28): 'Remove not the ancient landmarks, which thy fathers have set.'[2] Du Tour's anxiety about the next generation can be read as a rather general lament about youth's unsteadiness and decadence. His own progeny, however, could hardly be characterized as idle 'soft doves.' His only son David was a man of great ambition. Having acquired the title of baron, he married into a wealthy Frisian family and made a career in provincial and, ultimately, national politics. After serving in the magistrate of his wife's Frisian hometown of Hindeloopen, he became a deputy in the States-General in The Hague and commissioner in the Frisian Court of Auditors.[3] Obviously, his father's anxiety about his children's steadfastness and

1 Aquila progenerat molles generosa columbas
Atque animus residat nullus avertus Eques
Ah! Patris et virtus probitas et candor honesti
Non est in natis/ tempora dicta probant.
tempora hodierna
(Arch. Thys. 287: Stukken afkomstig van Marcus du Tour, lid van de Raad van Brabant)

2 'En zet de oude Paalen niet te rugge, die uwe vaderen gemaakt hebben.' (Ibid.)

3 Repertorium van ambtsdragers en ambtenaren 1482-18-61 (http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Repertorium/app/personen/8309), consulted on 7 February 2013.

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ambition had resulted in a disciplined upbringing, which prepared them for successful careers.

Marcus Du Tour's eagerness to pass on old virtues had another dimension. Descended from French and Brabantine Protestant refugee families, he served as a member of the Council of Brabant in The Hague.[4] Even though he belonged to the elite of the Dutch Republic, his social networks remained firmly rooted in the family and friendship circles of southern migrants. His marriage to Sara de l' Empereur in 1655 connected the Van der Meulen and Du Tour families to that of the famous Leiden Hebraist Constantijn de l'Empereur van Oppijck, himself born of Antwerp refugees in Germany.[5] With the exception of notable persons such as Utrecht mayor Frederik Ruysch, the guest list to Du Tour's wedding reads like a who's who of well-to-do southern migrant families in Holland and Utrecht.[6] He acted as a lawyer and legal advisor to many of his Southern Netherlandish contacts and friends. Important merchant families, such as brothers Johan and Christoffel Thijs, were represented by Du Tour in several lawsuits concerning investments in Hamburg. Contacts with fellow Southerners proved of crucial importance for Du Tour's career and social life, and passing them on to his children seems to have been a major goal. The 'ancient landmarks' of the fathers had to be preserved and maintained, and the old networks that had mutually connected the old well-to-do Brabant families in the Dutch Republic for generations needed to be continued.[7]

Many studies on migrant identities suggest that transferring memories of a distant 'homeland' to future generations is a difficult task. The bilocal or multilocal ties to one or more place of origin are typically restricted to the first generation while descendants of migrants do not share the interest in their

4 On the Council of Brabant under the Dutch generality: J. G. M. Sanders, Willem A. van Ham, *Noord-Brabant Tijdens de Republiek Der Verenigde Nederlanden, 1572–1795. Een institutionele handleiding*, Hilversum 1996; Robert Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der Republiek* (2e bijgewerkte druk, The Hague 1922), pp. 268–269; W. M. Lindemann, Th. F. van Litsenburg, *Raad van Brabant: Brabant* deel 1: Inleiding, inventarissen en bijlagen ('s-Hertogenbosch 1981) pp. 5–15; J. Th. de Smit, 'Van een oud naar een nieuw project. Van Grote Raad van Mechelen naar Raad van Brabant,' *Noordbrabants Historisch Jaarboek* 2 (1985), pp. 113–126.

5 Marcus Du Tour's mother was Justina van der Meulen, daughter of the successful Antwerp merchant Andries van der Meulen (Arch. Thys. 286: Stukken van David du Tour en zijn vrouw Justina van der Meulen, ca. 1630–1650).

6 Arch. Thys. 287.

7 On the maintenance of close family ties in early modern migrant networks, see also: Luuc Kooijmans. *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1997.

parents' birth countries or regions.[8] However, in the case of the early modern Netherlandish exiles who left during the Dutch Revolt, a different pattern appears: translocal networks built by the first generation and held together by memories and the consciousness of a common homeland remained intact for many generations and were sometimes even extended and reinforced by the children and grandchildren of newcomers who could easily build upon the contacts of their ancestors. These networks had a social as well as a spatial component: not only did they connect families and individuals from the same regions, they also bridged wide geographical spaces among which future generations could easily move. Descendants of Dutch migrants did not forget their forefathers' former homes and were often able and willing to migrate between their birthplaces and other regions they knew only from their parents' stories. Merchant families in particular had broad geographical outlooks and often proved very flexible when relocation from one city or country to another proved necessary.

Newer studies on transnationalism and migration often argue that after the heyday of the modern nation state, transnational migration changed in character. Whereas the model of migration as a one-directional and linear movement from one place to another is said to have characterized migration movements in earlier periods, new communication technologies and increasing opportunities to travel between states are believed to have changed the living conditions of modern migrants enormously. Instead of leaving the 'Old Country' behind and starting a new life abroad, migrants live more and more 'between' their birth countries and their new homes. In particular, members of labor-migrant diasporas, such as Mexicans in the Southwest of the United States, often relocate several times from one side of the border to the other. Even those who permanently settle down in the new host society often keep close ties to their former homelands.[9] To describe this condition, Nina Glick Schiller and others coined the term 'transmigrant,' which stresses connection to various places and spaces and the multidirectional nature of contemporary migrants' lives.[10] As this chapter will show, 'transmigration' is not only a

8 Lucassen, 'Is Transnationalism Compatible with Assimilation?', p. 21.

9 See e.g.: Stephen, Lynn, *Transborder Lives. Indigenous Oaxacans in Mexico, California, and Oregon*, Durham/NC 2007; Linda G. Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Blanc Szanton, 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration' in: *Anthropology Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (January 1995), pp. 48–63; Michael Peter Smith, 'The Two Faces of Transnational Citizenship,' in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (November 2007), pp. 1096–1116.

10 Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc Szanton, 'From Immigrant to Transmigrant.' See also the various essays in: Linda G. Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Blanc Szanton, *Nations*

contemporary phenomenon but also one that preceded the modern nation state and shaped the situation of many early modern migrants. Early modern Netherlandish migration networks could be classified as typical examples of such transmigrant diasporas. Even if their members were well integrated into their new places of residence, most migrants and their descendants did not totally reorient their lives towards their host societies but remained connected to their old 'homes' or other regions where their parents had stayed after their flight, and often easily relocated from one place to another.[11]

As we will see in this chapter, the choice to move or relocate to earlier 'homes' to which previous migrant generations had fled is not self-explanatory. The condition for doing so was the survival of memories and social networks that connected the various exile homes. Knowledge of the past and other points of intersection within the diasporic networks was transmitted to future generations and offered them a broadening of their geographical outlook and a wider spectrum of economic decisions and career opportunities. Many, like Marcus Du Tour, preserved their migrant outlook and tried to keep the memory of their ancestors alive and pass it on to their children. Even though the 'fleeing horseman,' whose unpredictable course Du Tour lamented, did not return, knowledge of the forefathers was of crucial importance for the next generations and offered them valuable opportunities.

At Home, Here and Abroad

While most of the descendants of Netherlandish migrants who had left their homes during the early Revolt were firmly rooted in their new homes, their families' pasts also connected them to places and networks beyond their everyday social surroundings. Even after three or more generations, people could easily move from one place to another if necessary. While many families maintained a clearly defined geographical link between two or three regions or towns, others kept moving through the entire geographical spectrum of the Netherlandish diaspora. The Balde family from the Ypres region,

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Unbound. Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-states, London 1994.

11 Not all persons in the Netherlandish diaspora communities in England were refugees, but some migrated to England or Germany after the period of persecution and remained for economic reasons. One of them was Gerard Schepens from Dordrecht who, at the age of sixteen, went to Norwich in 1573, where he later married Maria Mahiens, born of Flemish exiles. Around 1579, the couple moved to the Dutch Republic and lived in various towns in Holland (GA Dordrecht, 85 Collectie Balen, inv.nr. 20).

for instance, fled the Southern Netherlands around 1572 to Sandwich. In the 1580s, some family members migrated to Holland and Frankenthal.[12] Jacob Balde, born in England, used his English contacts when he became an elder in the Dutch Reformed Church in Frankenthal. When Spanish troops occupied the southern German town in 1624, he traveled to London to raise money for the Frankenthal Reformed congregation. Franz Balde, Jacob's brother, moved to Frankfurt in 1630, and Jacob himself went to Amsterdam in 1635.[13] His son, Jacob Balde the Younger, became a minister in Frankenthal but later moved to Thamen (now Uithoorn) in the classis of Utrecht where he died in 1653.[14] The family remained spread over a wide range of locations between England, the Dutch Republic and the Holy Roman Empire.[15]

While various branches of the Balde family became increasingly comfortable in their new towns, they still maintained a wide social and geographical orientation. Although many family members married locals from Frankfurt or Utrecht, marriages to other Southern Netherlandish families were contracted until the eighteenth century while descendants with spouses from abroad kept moving along the old migration routes of their forefathers. Jacob Balde the Younger had married Anna Behaghel, a descendant of the famous Flemish merchant family from Frankfurt, and their only daughter Susanna Maria married into the old Van de Walle migrant family from Hanau.[16] The family ties between Utrecht, Holland and the family's various German exile towns were renewed again when in 1710 Hermanus van de Walle, Susanna Maria's son, married Sara Balde, his second cousin, in Amsterdam.[17] The Van de Walle, Behaghel and Balde families would maintain their mutual connections for centuries, and around 1700 some of their members established the firm Behaghel & Van de Walle, a multinational trading company that operated in England, Frankfurt and Amsterdam.[18] Others, such as Jacob Balde the Younger, Hermanus van de Walle and his son Jacob, known as the 'Dordrecht pope,' became famous preachers in Frankenthal, Amsterdam and Dordrecht.[19] Even though they belonged to the economic elites of their various towns, they did not inhabit

12 Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 4, part 1, p. 52.

13 Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, pp. 246f.

14 NNWB, vol. 3, pp. 57f.

15 The children of Franz Balde, the brother of Jacob the Younger, most of whom married into other Netherlandish migrant families, moved to London, Amsterdam and Mannheim (Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol 4, part 1, p. 53).

16 Didericus Gijsbertus van Epen, *Nederland's patriciaat*, vol. 38, 1952, p. 375.

17 GA Dordrecht, 1074, inv.nr. 478: Testament van Hermanus van de Walle en Sara Balde.

18 Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 4, part 1, pp. 300f.

19 NNWB, vol. 9, p. 1274.

only one 'home' but rather a multiplicity of places that had been explored by previous generations in which they had important contacts.

The same pattern can be observed in numerous other migrant families. In the case of merchants, continuous remigration was more the rule than the exception. The families De Bary, Campoing, Bartels and others, who centered their enterprises on Frankfurt, continued to migrate between Holland and the Main and Rhine regions until the eighteenth century.[20] The Boudaen Courten family, descending from the textile merchant Guillaume Courten from Menen in Flanders, also kept moving back and forth between London, Cologne, Hamburg, Middelburg and other towns for generations.[21] During the persecution of heretics under the Duke of Alba, Guillaume Courten was incarcerated but managed to escape to England where he built a trading network that would last for decades. His incarceration by the Habsburg authorities was commemorated in a silver tazza that depicted him as a prisoner behind bars and was preserved by his descendants for generations.[22] After 1572, Courten relocated and settled in Middelburg. His daughter Margarita, who lived in Rotterdam, went back to England after the death of her husband but sent her son Pieter to Middelburg to work in the Zeeland branch of the family business.[23] Pieter's wife, Catharina Fourmenois, was born of Walloon refugees in Cologne. Apparently the family had not cut all its ties with the Southern Netherlands: at Pieter's and Catharina's wedding the invited guests came not only from Cologne and London but also from Antwerp.[24] Even though many family members continued to move between England and the continent, they built close links with their new homes. Jacob Boudaen Courten became a member of the Council of Brabant, and his second cousin married into an English noble family and settled in Bath.[25]

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20 Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 4, part 1, pp. 116–122. See for the Lutheran Bartels family also: Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, *Zuschrifft* (unpaginated introduction).

21 Gerdien Wuestman, 'Het familjie boeckje van Pieter Boudaen Courten' (1594–1668): memoires van een geportretteerde,' in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 53 (2005), pp. 42–61; Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 285.

22 Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Des Tombes, Familie Boudaen Courten, inv. nr. 1080; Katie Heyning, 'Tazza voor de familie Courten,' in: *Bulletin van de Vereniging Rembrandt*, vol. 20, nr. 2, (Summer 2010), p. 21.

23 Utrechts Archief, Archief van de familie Des Tombes, Familie Boudaen Courten, inv.nr. 1081.

24 Wuestman, 'Het familjie boeckje van Pieter Boudaen Courten,' p. 53.

25 Ibid., p. 57.

FIGURE 7 *Tazza of the Courten family, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.*

While most of the merchant dynasties kept their transnational outlooks and continued to migrate between the Netherlands, Britain and Germany for a long time, families which began to orient themselves towards their new homes kept in touch with their old networks abroad. In the case of the Frankfurt Walloon merchant house Du Fay, most of the members of the family remained in Frankfurt at least until the late eighteenth century but they still maintained their old links to Holland and England as well as to other Netherlandish families

in Germany, especially to the Haarlem merchant house Wendel.[26] In 1708, the connection between the two merchant families was reinforced through the marriage of Johann Martin du Fay and Rahel Wendel. The family also remained committed to the Walloon Reformed Church of Hanau and sent most of their sons to the Reformed Academy in Herborn that had been founded by the counts of Nassau after their conversion to Reformed Protestantism.[27]

For merchants who operated in international and interregional trade, geographical mobility was a matter of economic survival, and the transnational merchant networks often preceded the persecution of Protestants in the second half of the sixteenth century.[28] This observation has led some scholars to conclude that the religious and political aspects of the mass migration from the Netherlands should not be exaggerated and that in many cases leaving one's hometown was a decision based purely on trade prospects.[29] Families and individuals who continued to move from one place to another, however, represented not only merchants but people of many other professions. While textile workers, brewers and comparable occupational groups were more likely to settle permanently after having migrated once, in some cases entire colonies of Southern Netherlandish workers continued to relocate, such as Flemish textile workers who first fled to England and the Lower Rhine and later went to

26 Ruth Kohlndorfer-Fries, *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik. Die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jacques Bongars*, Tübingen 2009, p. 138; Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. 4, part 1, p. 315. One of the few family members who migrated to the Netherlands was Jacob du Fay, who lived as a merchant in Amsterdam until his death in 1691 (Ibid.). Also the various branches of the De Malapert family scattered between Amsterdam and Frankfurt stayed connected to each other for centuries. See: Franz Lerner, 'Malapert,' in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 15 (1987), p. 723f. and Het Utrechts Archief, 204, inv. nr. 346; 348; 352.

27 Gottfried Zedler und Hans Sommer (eds.), *Die Matrikel der Hohen Schule und des Pädagogiums zu Herborn*, Wiesbaden 1908. (*Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Nassau*, 5), pp. 115; 552.

28 Raymond Fagel, 'The Netherlandish Presence in England Before the Coming of the Stranger Churches, 1480–1560,' in: Vigne and Littleton (eds.) *From Strangers to Citizens*, pp. 7–16.

29 See for a historiographical discussion of these issues: A. Thijs, De historiografie over de 16de-eeuwse Zuid-Nederlandse emigratie, of: Het zelfbeeld van Vlaanderen en Nederland in het geding, in: *Provinciale Commissie voor Geschiedenis en Volkskunde. Jaarboek 1995–1996*, pp. 55–71; Gustaaf Janssen, 'Verjaagd van Nederland: een overzicht van recent onderzoek over de Zuidnederlandse emigratie in de zestiende eeuw,' in: *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 75, pp. 103–120.

Holland.[30] We will see that among artisans, artists, clergymen and physicians continuous transmigration was almost as common as among merchants. In families and professional circles, the networks of previous generations were reproduced, and individuals kept moving along old migration routes.

That these migration movements were not one-directional processes but, rather, continuous loops, is illustrated by the network of painters and artisans between Frankenthal, Frankfurt and the Netherlands. The decision to relocate was often dictated by political and military events, such as the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, which affected Frankenthal at an early stage when the town was besieged by Spanish troops in 1621. The Ferein family, originally from the Southern Netherlands and silversmiths for generations, moved away from Frankenthal even before the Palatine was afflicted by the war. Immediately before Spinola's Palatine campaign in 1620, Hans Ferein and his family left Frankenthal for The Hague.[31] His son Hendrik, born in 1604, later re-migrated with his family to his birthplace and settled down as an artisan in his father's trade in 1652. His descendants continued to work as silversmiths in Worms, Hanau and Frankenthal until the eighteenth century. They remained active in their Dutch Reformed congregations and often chose spouses of Southern Netherlandish descent.[32]

Other families that migrated between the Netherlands and exile towns abroad included the painter dynasties Van der Borcht and Steenwyck, the Le Blon family and their relatives.[33] Three generations of the Van der Borcht

30 See e.g.: Leo Lucassen and Boudien de Vries, 'The Rise and Fall of a West European Textile-worker Migration System: Leiden, 1586–1700,' in: Gérard Gayot and Philippe Minard (eds.), *Les ouvriers qualifiés de l'industrie* (*XVI^e^–XX^e^ siècle*). *Formation, emploi, migrations*, Lille 2001, pp. 23–42; Leo Lucassen and Boudien de Vries, 'Leiden als middelpunt van een Westeuropees textiel-migratiesysteem', in: *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 22 (2), pp. 138–167. An argument against the notion that economic considerations outweighed religious motivations of emigration can be seen in the fact that many Antwerp merchants who fled to Frankfurt in the 1560s moved back to their hometown when the rebels took it over. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, they immediately returned to Frankfurt. See: Van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten*, p. 184.

31 Walter Jarosch, 'Die Silberschmiede Ferein in Frankenthal, Worms und Hanau,' in: Edgar J. Hürkey (ed.), *Kunst, Kommerz, Glaubenskampf. Frankenthal um 1600*, Worms 1995, p. 187.

32 Ibid., pp. 190f. For other Netherlandish gold and silversmiths in Frankenthal see: Walter Jarosch, 'Frankenthaler Gold- und Silberschmiede des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,' in: Hürkey (ed.), *Kunst, Kommerz, Glaubenskampf*, pp. 175–186.

33 On the Netherlandish artists in Frankenthal, see: Martin Papenbrock, *Landschaften des Exils. Gillis van Coninxloo und die Frankenthaler Maler*, Weimar 2001 and the critical discussion of this work by Nils Büttner (Nils Büttner, 'Landschaften des Exils? Anmerkungen

family moved between Brussels, Amsterdam and Frankenthal. While some of their descendants became farmers in smaller Palatine villages, those who continued their fathers' craft never found a steady home. Their continuous migration was not always the result of free choice; in order to find employment Hendrik van der Borcht II went to London, but returned to Holland and later to Frankenthal during the English Civil War. His son, Hendrik van der Borcht III, worked as a court painter for the Electors Palatine but was dismissed after the Calvinist branch of the dynasty died out in 1685. He considered returning to Frankenthal in 1698 but the town had been plundered during the War of the Palatine Succession and the six houses formerly owned by the various branches of the Van der Borcht family had burned down.[34] Unable to rebuild, he left for Friedrichsfeld to live with his daughter's family until 1731.

Just like the Van der Borchts, the Steenwycks, painters, roamed between Germany, England and the Netherlands for generations. Hendrick van Steenwyck was born in Kampen and had settled down in Antwerp before the Dutch Revolt, but he was forced to flee to Aachen in 1570. When Antwerp was taken over by the rebels he returned, but had to leave again after the Habsburg victory in 1585. The family moved to Frankfurt where Hendrick died in 1603. His son, Hendrick van Steenwyck II, moved back to the Netherlands and worked in London where he met his wife Susanna Gaspoel, born to refugees from Louvain. After their marriage they settled in The Hague and later in Leiden where Hendrick died in 1649. Susanna, also a painter, lived in Amsterdam until 1662.[35]

The Le Blon family, originally from Valenciennes, shows a similar picture: they settled in Frankfurt around 1576. Christoph (or Christoffel) Le Blon married into the Merian family and became a successful publisher and engraver in Frankfurt. His brother Michel, also an engraver and art dealer, went to Amsterdam at a young age and worked for the king of Sweden. In Holland he befriended Joost van den Vondel, who wrote some poems for Le Blon's

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zu Gillis van Coninxloo und zur Geschichte der flämischen Waldlandschaft aus Anlaß einer Neuerscheinung,' in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 66 (2003), pp. 546–580.).

34 Gunther Zehl, 'Die Frankenthaler Malerfamilie van der Borcht,' in: Hürkey (ed.), *Kunst, Kommerz, Glaubenskampf*, p. 147.

35 Jeremy Howarth, 'The Steenwyck paintings, products of family enterprise,' in: Koenraad Brosens, Leen Kelchtermans e.a. (eds.), *Family Ties. Art Production and Kinship Patterns in the Early Modern Low Countries*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 144–158; Marloes Huiskamp, *Gaspoel, Susanna*, in: *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland.* (http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/Gaspoel, consulted on 5 April, 2013).

65th birthday.[36] In Amsterdam, Michel helped his brother's publishing house maintain ties between Frankfurt and Holland and provided Christoph with literary works he regarded interesting for the German book market. It is remarkable that he became a member of the Brabant migrant rhetoricians chamber *'t Wit Lavendel*—apparently the common Southern Netherlandish exile background still played a role, regardless of whether the descendants of the refugees had grown up in Germany or Amsterdam.

The biography of Le Blon's cousin Joachim von Sandrart, artist, publisher and author of the important art historical work *Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* ('German academy of the noble arts of architecture, sculpture and painting') shows how many different contexts second generation migrants could easily switch between.[37] Born in Frankfurt in 1606 to Walloon parents, he was active in Amsterdam between 1647 and 1642 after having lived in Nuremberg and Utrecht. From Holland he moved to the Palatinate and then again to Nuremberg, which had drawn many exiles from the Low Countries since the late sixteenth century.[38] Sandrart was soon well integrated in the cultural life of his new homes: in Nuremberg he was admitted to the prestigious literary society *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* and had many contacts among the members of the *Pegnesische Blumenorden*, such as Sigmund von Birken, with whom he collaborated in the publication of the *Teutsche Academie*. In Amsterdam he established contacts with Joost van den Vondel, Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, Samuel Coster, Gerard Vossius and other famous writers of whom he made paintings and produced illustrations for their books. When Sandrart delivered a cycle of twelve paintings of the months of the year to Elector Maximilian I. of Bavaria, Vondel and Caspar Barlaeus, both of whom had Southern Netherlandish exile backgrounds, wrote twelve accompanying

36 See: Joost van den Vondel, 'Jaergetyde van den heer Michiel le Blon, 1652: Margriet. Michiel,' in: J. F. M. Sterck e.a. (eds.), *De werken van Vondel. Deel 5. 1645–1656*, Amsterdam 1931. On Michel Le Blon, see also: Badeloch Vera Noldus, 'A Spider in its Web. Agent and Artist Michel Le Blon and his Northern European Network,' in: Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus, *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden/Boston 2011, pp. 161–192.

37 Joachim von Sandrart, *L'Academia Todesca della Architectura, Scultura & Pittura: Oder Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau- Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, 6 vols., Nuremberg 1675–1679.

38 Christian, Klemm, 'Sandrart, Joachim von' in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 22 (2005), pp. 425–427 (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn118794396.html). On Nuremberg as a center for Reformed refugees from France and the Netherlands, see: Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, pp. 140–163.

poems in Dutch and Latin, while Sigmund von Birken produced a German version.[39]

Despite his frequent relocations, Sandrart was rooted in multiple settings and environments: connected to Frankfurt, where most of his family lived, his Southern Netherlandish background brought him to the Dutch Republic. He soon belonged to the Nuremberg urban elite and died there as a renowned artist; Johann-Philip Miltenberger, a Nuremberg printer, published his biography while he was still alive.[40] His artistic and publishing activities connected Dutch and German literary and artist networks and made him an important cultural broker between the Low Countries and German-speaking Europe. In 1679 he translated Karel van Mander's Dutch paraphrase of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into German. Van Mander played a significant role in Sandrart's publishing activities and the *Teutsche Academie* was heavily influenced by and modeled after Van Mander's biographical-historical *Schilder-Boeck*, even borrowing passages. Despite Sandrart's use of various Italian art-historical works as models, Van Mander and his *Schilder-Boeck* played a crucial role regarding the influence of German literature on the history and theory of visual arts.

To be sure, the decision to move on made seemingly easily by these families was almost invariably motivated by practical or economic considerations. Especially in the case of the merchant class, the existence of old networks abroad was a valuable and often necessary key to economic success. As Oscar Gelderblom has argued, early modern merchants who participated in transnational trade were by definition 'footloose': Even before the Dutch Revolt many Netherlandish traders had led highly mobile lives, easily migrating from one place to another. Gelderblom presents the decisions of individuals to migrate as motivated purely by economic interest following a clear 'cost-benefit calculus.'[41] It is obvious that not only merchants but also individuals of other professions moved back and forth for economic reasons once the war and persecutions were over. Nevertheless, the high mobility that offered descendants of migrants invaluable career and trade opportunities depended on the knowledge and memories that previous generations had passed down to their children. The migration patterns of the aforementioned families clearly followed

39 Karel Porteman (ed.), *De Maanden van het jaar. Joachim von Sandrart, Joost van den Vondel, Caspar Barlaeus*, Wommelgem 1987.

40 *LebensLauf und Kunst-Werke Des WolEdlen und Gestrengen Herrn Joachims von Sandrart/ auf Stockau/Hochfürstl. Pfalz-Neuburgischen Rahts*, Nürnberg 1675.

41 Oscar Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce. The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650*, Princeton 2013, p. 201.

the migration routes of previous generations and benefited from the networks that had been built by the ancestors.

Maintaining Ties

Of course, the opportunities the networks provided were dependent upon the maintenance of contacts. For many migrant families and individuals, especially those who do not seem to have been sure about where they would live in the future, the attempts to keep in touch with old contacts and to explore new networks were of crucial importance. The family of Antwerp physician Andreas de Bacher, for example, was eager to maintain connections with friends and acquaintances abroad after they fled their hometown in the 1580s. De Bacher went to Halberstadt in the German Harz Mountains where he served as the medical attendant of the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. In 1608 the family moved to Utrecht and later to Leiden, but the contacts with their German exile abodes remained.[42] Andreas de Bacher encouraged his son Samuel to travel during his studies in Leiden and provided him with a list of people he should meet while in Germany and whose acquaintance could be useful in the future. Even though he studied in Padua for a while, the routes followed by Samuel de Bacher did not take him to the typical destinations of the early modern European *grand tour*. Instead, he mainly traveled through places his family and many other refugees from Antwerp had stayed during their flights: Bremen, Hamburg, Stade and Halberstadt.[43]

During his travels Samuel reported news and brought messages and good wishes from his family's contacts back to Holland. The manner in which the connection was maintained was amicable and signaled a certain intimacy,

42 Both Andreas and Samuel de Bacher frequently corresponded with Conrad Treffelinck from Halberstadt, Enghelhardt Adelphis and Johan Peparinus from Wolfenbüttel, the chancellor of the Brunswick-Lüneburg court, Nicolaas van der Willigen from Hamburg as well as several merchants in Holland. (Arch. Thys. 154: Brieven ontvangen door Samuel de Bacher 1594–1617; Arch. Thys. 137: Brieven ingekomen bij Andreas de Baccher van Enghelhardt Adelphis en Johan Peparinus; Arch. Thys 134, A1–L1: Brieven ingekomen bij Andreas de Bacher van Nicolaas van der Willigen).

43 In 1609 De Bacher went to Stade, and in 1615 he traveled via Bremen and Hamburg to Brunswick and Halberstadt (Arch. Thys. 153: Brieven ingekomen bij Samuel de Bacher van verschillende familieleden; Arch. Thys. 157: Brieven ontvangen door Philips de Bacher 1613–1649; Arch. Thys. 151. Reisbrieven van Samuel de Bacher aan zijn ouders. 1608–1611.). See on Samuel de Bacher also: *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome 1921–2002,* 3d series, part 10, The Hague 1959, p. 122.

which was often nothing more than a gesture. Many of the people Samuel encountered were known to his family only by name, which sometimes led to embarrassing situations, as his father had provided him with incorrect names and personal information. When Samuel was supposed to meet physician Bartholomeus Verheij and his wife Dorijn in Bremen, he found that

> [h]is name was not Bartholomeus, but Balthasar Verheij and he is not married to Dorijn, but to Elisabeth Hedewig. Dorijn, however, is married to a bailiff, of whom they say he is a nobleman and she is also rich and well off and they live together somewhere around Emberg. Even though I did not have much time to talk to them, they invited me as their guest and wanted to prove their friendship to me, but because I was in a hurry, I had to promise them to visit them again on my way back and have more conversations with them. Together they have had three children, of which two have died and one boy is still alive. They said that their brothers and sisters were all doing well. He [Balthasar Verheij] has his patients predominantly among the Netherlanders. The doctor also said that he thought about traveling to Holland shortly and if he would do so, he would also visit our father in Leiden. When I would return on my way back, he said he wanted to give me some messages for father to write him in more detail about everything [. . .].[44]

Obviously, the De Bacher and the Verheijs families hardly knew each other; Andreas de Bacher did not even remember their names. Yet even though they had possibly never met, they freely invited each other to their homes and did their best to show interest in keeping in touch. Balthasar Verheij's statement that he would visit the De Bachers in Leiden probably did not say much about

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44 Arch. Thys. 157: Brieven ontvangen door Philips de Bacher 1613–1649 (1615): 'Hij heet niet Bartholomeus maer Balthasar Verheij en is getrouwd niet met Dorijn, maer met Elisabeth Hedewig ende Dorijn is getrouwt met eenen amptman, die sij seijden een edelman te zijn ende haer rijck ende wel ghestelt woonachtich omtrent Emberch, maer alsoo ick luttel off gheen tijt hadde, beslist geen langen discours met hun houden, zij wilden mij te gaste houden ende alle vriendtschap betoonen, maer overmits ick zoo haestede, hebbe moeten beloven, int weder doorreijsen te passe kommende, niet te laeten, weder nader te spreecken, zij hebben t'saemen drie kinderkens ghehadt, waeraff twee ghestorven, derde een soontje noch levendt, zijden mij met hun andere broeders ende susters noch al wel te zijn. Hij heeft hier zijn meeste praktijcke bij de Nederlanders. De doctor seijde oock dat hij cort ook eens naer Hollant soude moeten reijsen, dan soude hij vader te Leijden oock besoecken, ende thans dat ick hier verder doorquam, wilde mij berichten aen vader met geven, om hem van alles goet bescheet te schrijven [. . .].'

his intended travels but, rather, was a gesture to affirm their friendly contact. Because of the high rate of re- and transmigration of second and third generation migrants, maintaining connections between various local Netherlandish exile communities could be of vital interest.

Regular visits to friends and family abroad were no exception in Netherlandish migrant networks. The most common occasions to see relatives who lived far away were marriages and, less happily, funerals.[45] Those who could afford it also went abroad to visit their kinfolk without a specific occasion. The famous minister Johannes Elison, for example, was born in England and served the Netherlandish congregation in Norwich, but continued to visit Holland and Zeeland. While most of his children stayed in England and some married into English families, one son, Johannes the Younger, settled down as a merchant in Amsterdam and married Josina Backer in 1628. After that his parents had even more reason to visit what was not exactly their homeland but a place they viewed as a cultural point of reference. Rembrandt's famous portraits of him and his wife Maria Bockenolle were painted during such a visit to Amsterdam.[46] The portraits were commissioned by their son and kept at his house in Amsterdam. After he and Josina Backer died childless, the paintings were taken to England by their brother-in-law Daniel Dover.

The Stranger Churches and the Continuation of Diasporic Networks

The continuation of the old exile networks took place not only in informal circles but also in official institutions, such as the numerous stranger churches in England and on the continent as well as at the Councils of Brabant and Flanders in The Hague and Middelburg and numerous chambers of rhetoric. Although all of these institutions gradually opened to people without a migration background during the seventeenth century, they retained their Southern Netherlandish identity and functioned as pivots on which the old

45 See e.g. on the marriage between Francoys Thijs and Hedewich de Bacher and the difficulties for the relatives to be there on time: Arch Thys. 133 A4 : Brieven ingekomen bij Andreas de Bacher., especially the letters from Johan Thijs from 11 November 1598 and 8 February 1599. On the difficulties to attend funerals of friends and family members while living in the diaspora, see: Gelderblom, *Zuidnederlandse kooplieden*, p. 58.

46 Grell, *Calvinist exiles in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 71 (footnote 33.); A. Moore, 'The evidence of artistic contact between Norfolk and the Netherlands,' in: Juliette Roding and Lex Herma van Voss, The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800), Hilversum 1996, pp. 355–377, especially p. 366.

exile networks hinged. Various Reformed, Lutheran and Mennonite migrant churches had maintained a decisively translocal outlook from their earliest origins onwards. While the significance of the Reformed presbyterial synodal church model for the genesis of a genuine Protestant exile identity has often been exaggerated by church historians, it can be argued that this form of organization could help preserv strong ties between local congregations and their mutual interdependence. While various Mennonite subconfessions quickly broke up into a multitude of sectarian branches and Lutherans outside the German princely territories drafted a number of different confessions of faith, the Reformed Church in the Netherlands agreed on a number of widely accepted doctrinal statements at an early stage and developed a common confessional identity and culture.[47] These Calvinist stranger churches connected the commercial and manufacturing towns of England and the European continent with each other and provided the Reformed Netherlandish diaspora with a firm institutional basis. In addition, the dominance of the Calvinists in the Dutch Republic made the Netherlands the center of the Calvinist diaspora. Local congregations outside the Netherlands remained oriented towards the 'motherland,' and local consistories and ministers in the Holy Roman Empire, Britain and Holland kept in close touch with each other.[48] Stranger churches in England held their own synods where mostly practical and organizational matters were discussed.[49]

The vast majority of members of the stranger churches in England as well as in the German Empire were of Flemish and Brabantine descent, with only a few Hollanders among them. While people from the Southern Netherlands were also well represented in the Reformed Church of the Dutch Republic, congregations in the 'homeland' gradually lost their old diasporic identity. Because

47 On the numerous subdivisions within the Mennonite movement, see: Samme Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden: geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531–1675*, Hilversum 2000. On the various Lutheran confessions of faith, see: Robert Kolb, *Confessing the Faith. Reformers Define the Church, 1530–1580*, St. Louis/MO 1991. The existence of various Lutheran confessions does, however, not imply that this inhibited a shared Lutheran sense of identity.

48 See e.g. the extensive source publication of the letters and minutes of the London Netherlandish Reformed congregation: Jan Hendrik Hessels (ed.), *Ecclesiae londino-batavae archivum ex autographis mandante Ecclesia londino-batava*, Cambridge 1889 II, pp. 552f. See also: W. P. C. Knuttel (ed.), *Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland 1621–1700*, The Hague 1908–1916, part 2, pp. 399–403; Ruytinck, *Gheschiedenissen ende Handelingen*, pp. 108ff.

49 London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/180/MS10055: *Kerckelicke oeffeningen en instellingen der Nederlandscher Ghemeente tot Londen*, fol. 111rff.

of the close contacts with stranger communities abroad and the communion with the Walloon churches at home, the Reformed Church in the Dutch Republic was, however, constantly reminded of its exile heritage. When we look at individuals who were particularly sympathetic towards and concerned with the brothers abroad, it is hardly surprising that most of them had migrant backgrounds or had friends or spouses of southern descent. While most of the ministers of the stranger churches in England were recruited from within migrant communities, from the 1620s onwards it became more difficult to find candidates. Those ministers in the Netherlands willing to leave for London and other towns were mostly descendants of migrants or had married into refugee families. Willem Thilenus, who grew up in Zeeland but served as a minister at the London Austin Friars congregation in the 1620s, was married to Maria de Fraeye of London, the granddaughter of Johan Radermacher.[50] When a successor for Thilenus was sought in 1628, Franciscus Gomarus and some other Flemings in Holland recommended various candidates, and finally Timotheus van Vleteren, born in Sandwich but raised in Zeeland, was selected.[51] While a few Hollanders also served the congregation in London during the seventeenth century, most ministers sent to England from the continent had links to the transnational Netherlandish diaspora. Only the church in Yarmouth had a traditional link with Zeeland and employed some young ministers from Walcheren and its neighboring islands.[52]

Among the Reformed in Holland, church members descended from migrant families were often more inclined to think in terms of an international Calvinist community than their native coreligionists. Persecuted Calvinists from other regions of Europe were regarded as brethren in the faith and were often generously helped and financially assisted. When Reformed communities in the Upper Palatine and the Duchy of Jülich came under severe pressure in the 1620s and had to flee, funds were raised by Calvinist congregations all over Europe. Besides the wealthy Austin Friars congregation, which was especially generous in helping their persecuted fellow believers, the Amsterdam church was very active in campaigning for the cause and convinced the Synod of South Holland and the magistrate of Amsterdam to help. The linchpins of these charity initiatives were all merchants from Southern Netherlandish families such as Daniel van den Ende, Daniel Dorville and Martin Hooftman. Due to their excellent

50 Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism. A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Leiden 1983, p. 194.

51 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England*, pp. 59f.

52 Ibid., p. 126.

connections within the international Calvinist exile networks, these men were also commissioned to transfer money to the refugees.[53]

Memories of past persecutions played a crucial role in the rhetoric that called for a common solidarity within the Reformed diaspora. The refugees who had fled the Upper Palatine to Nuremberg reminded their coreligionists in Holland and London of the exile fate of their parents and grandparents. Their written petitions suggest that Utenhove's *Simplex et fidelis narratio* was still widely known as the hardships during the odyssey of the Netherlandish refugees along the North Sea coast in the winter of 1553/1554 were recalled.[54] The exiled writers of the petition letters sent to the Netherlands seemed quite confident about the success of their cause. The fact that they lived far away from their benefactors and did not personally know them did not stop them from trusting the benevolence of the Dutch. In their view they all belonged to the same community of coreliginists and were united by a common cause for which their forefathers had already suffered.[55]

In the diaspora churches outside the 'fatherland,' Netherlandish identities were preserved for a long time. Ole Peter Grell has argued that from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, descendants of the exiles were so well integrated that as early as the 1650s the stranger church at Austin Friars mainly consisted of 'English people of Dutch origin,' and proficiency in the Dutch language decreased rapidly among members of the congregation.[56] The records of the London stranger church do indeed confirm such a process of 'anglicization'; however, this trend did not lead to a decline of 'Netherlandishness' in the local diaspora community but actually stimulated efforts to remain mindful about its past and identity. From the 1650s onwards not all younger members spoke proper Dutch despite the consistory and synod of the stranger churches in England being uncompromising about maintaining the Netherlandish character of the congregation. At a synodal meeting in 1655 the question was raised

53 Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, pp. 231, 233.

54 Ibid., 199. The *Simplex et fidelis narratio* remained part of Reformed migrant memories until the eighteenth century and was for instance also extensively quoted in the chronicle of the Reformed church of Frankfurt (Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Deutsch-Reformierte Gemeinde, inv.nr. 148: Mangon, Geschichte der beiden Gemeinden, fol. 45–90).

55 See also: *Copie van een sekeren Brief der Boven-Pfaltische ballinghen aan de E. E. Kercken-Raad der stad Leeuwarden*, Leeuwarden 1631; *Copye van een sekeren brief, geschreven door de verdruckte ballinghen, der Gereformeerde religie, in verscheyden quartieren van Duytslandt; aan de E. E. Kercken-Raad der stad Leeuwarden; ende door haer aan de respective gemeenten van Frieslandt*, Leeuwarden 1642.

56 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 135.

regarding how young persons without enough active knowledge of Dutch could publicly confess their faith to become full church members. The option to do so in English was not addressed; the synod only discussed the question 'under which circumstances and conditions prospective members who do not have the courage or do not speak the Dutch language can make confession only before the consistory.'[57] Representatives sent from London, Colchester, Norwich, Maidstone and Yarmouth unanimously decided that such persons did not have to appear before the entire congregation, but that it would be sufficient if they made their confession only to the minister or at least two members of the consistory.[58]

While there may have been quite a few cases of people who did not speak Dutch with confidence, virtually all the church members must have understood their parents' mother tongue well enough to at least follow the sermons, which continued to be held in Dutch. Many notes, letters and large parts of the official records of the local congregation were still written in Dutch until far into the eighteenth century.[59] The increasing anglicization of the Netherlandish community was, however, considered a problem. Already in the 1580s an Italian elder of the congregation, who also spoke Dutch, was employed as a schoolmaster. While in the late sixteenth century the main reason to employ a schoolmaster had been to ensure that children of the Austin Friars congregation received a Reformed education and learned the catechism and important merchant skills such as arithmetic and accounting, by the early seventeenth century the focus had shifted to providing a good education in Dutch, a subject increasingly challenging for more and more children. When the Dutch schoolmaster of Austin Friars died in 1642, the consistory tried to employ a schoolteacher from the 'homeland' and made inquiries in Middelburg and Flushing, even though there was an English schoolmaster available who was able to teach Dutch. In 1646, the consistory employed Andries Minet from Middelburg, a decision that would later turn out to be a financial disaster when Minet demanded vast amounts of money and wanted the consistory to

57 London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/180/MS10055: *Kerckelicke oeffeningen en instellingen*, fol. 111r.: 'Aencomende litmaten die de vrymoedicheit of de Nederlandsche tale niet en hebben, hoe en met wat bepalingen sullen mogen geexcuseert worden vande publyke Belydenis, wort gelaten inde discretie vanden Kerkenraet.'

58 Ibid., fol. 111v.: 'Wort gestelt in de discretie van den kerkenraet, de Belydenis van een persoon die niet wel bekent is met de Duytsche tale, aen te nemen of voor den predicant alleen of met bywesen van een of twee ouderlingen.'

59 See e.g.: Ibid., fol. 119v. or: Hessels, *Archivum*, III, ns. 4020ff. The official church records, however, had switched from Dutch to English by the mid-seventeenth century (Grell, *Calvinist exiles in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 122.)

pay debts he had incurred in London.[60] Even though Minet was a great disappointment, many parents were willing to pay the high fees he asked in order to give their children good lessons in Dutch. Following Minet's departure, the Dutch Church still wanted to employ a Dutch schoolmaster. In 1682, the consistory asked minister Gerard van der Port, who was traveling to Holland, to look for a suitable candidate.[61] Van der Port recommended Jan Blas and praised his talents as a teacher, organ player and cantor, and in 1683 Blas was called to London and employed as cantor-schoolmaster for the children of the Dutch Church.[62] Even though it was not always easy, the Austin Friars community was willing to go to great trouble to provide their children with an education in the language of their ancestors, and the Netherlandish identity of the congregation was preserved for a long time.

In the Holy Roman Empire stranger churches the situation was similar, but the preservation of the Dutch and French languages depended on the local situation and on the regional dialects spoken in the exile towns. In Emden, for example, where the Low German dialect was so similar to Dutch and Calvinists dominated local politics, immigrants were immediately incorporated into the local Reformed Church and never formed a distinct stranger church.[63] Danzig Mennonites continued to preach in Dutch until the mid-eighteenth century due to the similarity of their ancestors' mother tongue with the local Low German dialect.[64] In general, the French stranger congregations in Germany preserved their mother tongue longer than did their Dutch sister churches, in most cases as long as they existed. At least until the late eighteenth century the Netherlandish Lutheran congregation of Frankfurt financially assisted its members in order to provide their children with French language courses.[65] The Dutch language, by contrast, was so similar to German that it was often given up in the seventeenth century. In a place like Frankenthal that had been built up by Netherlandish migrants, Dutch was spoken until the end of the

60 Ibid., pp. 155–158.

61 See: Hessels, *Archivum*, III, no. 3881, 3882, 3883.

62 According to Ole Peter Grell, the Dutch Church gave up its attempts to find a suitable schoolmaster after the disappointing experience with Andries Minet (Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 160.). While indeed the position of Dutch schoolmaster seems to have been vacant between 1654 and the 1680s, Jan Blas was employed in 1683 (Hessels, *Archivum*, III, no. 3888.).

63 Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert*, p. 84.

64 Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Piety through the Centuries. Its Genius and Literature*, Goshen/Indiana 1949, p. 128.

65 Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Niederl. Gemeinde Augs. Confession I, inv.nr. 1026 (1797).

seventeenth century, and Reformed Church records were written in Dutch until 1689 when the town was pillaged by French soldiers and many church members left.[66] In the Reformed stranger church of Frankfurt, congregational records were kept in German as early as 1636, while its French sister congregation remained Francophone until 1916, attributable to the huge Huguenot influx after 1685.[67]

In towns where the strangers had built strong religious and cultural links with their host societies, the Dutch language was sooner traded for German than in cities where the migrants were not officially recognized. Such was the case in the Lutheran migrant church in Frankfurt, which was founded in 1566 by exiles from Antwerp. The founding of this church owed much to a number of local Lutheran clerics who wanted to help coreligionists from Brabant. In the 1560s, minister Matthias Ritter asked the city council to engage Dutch and French-speaking preachers not only to serve Lutheran exiles but also to win over Reformed Netherlanders for the Augsburg confession. When the magistrate was unwilling to provide financial support for this enterprise, Ritter, together with the converted Sephardi minister Cassiodorus da Reina from Antwerp, preached to the strangers. Members of the Ritter family would remain active as ministers of the stranger church until the eighteenth century.[68] Although the congregation abandoned the Dutch language early in the seventeenth century and church records were kept in German a few years later, French sermons were still held in the eighteenth century. Even without the mother tongue of their ancestors, the Netherlandish identity of the church continued to be disseminated and preserved for centuries, in certain aspects even until the present. Every year on a Sunday when new elders were elected, the congregation held a service in which the hardships of the forefathers were commemorated.[69] While we have seen that the congregation's chronicler, Johannes Lehnemann, asserted that most Netherlandish customs and traditions had been lost, the exile past actually retained a greater presence than suggested in his *Historische Nachricht*, whose author laments the decline of the exile heritage.

66 Alfred Hans Kuby, 'Gründe, Wege und Folgen der Gegenreformation in Kurpfalz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Frankenthal,' in: Edgar J. Hürkey, Kunst, *Kommerz, Glaubenskampf. Frankenthal um 1600*, Worms 1995, p. 25; Karl Caals, 'Zum Gebrauch des Niederländischen in Frankenthal (1562–1689),' in: *Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und religiöse Volkskunde* 56 (1989).

67 Hermann Dechent, *Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt am Main seit der Reformation*, Leipzig/Frankfurt a. M. 1921, p. 46; Irene Dingel, *Abraham Mangon: Kurze doch wahrhafftige Beschreibung der Geschichte der Reformierten in Frankfurt, 1554–1712*, Leipzig 2004, p. 8.

68 Van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten*, p. 169.

69 Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, unpaginated introduction.

The same complaint is found in the various historiographical writings of Austin Friars written and compiled by minister Symeon Ruytinck from the late sixteenth century onwards and continued by his successor Caesar Calandrini after Ruytinck's death in 1621. Both authors complained that members of the London church did not remember its past and origin very well. Ruytinck opened his history of the Netherlandish migrants in London with the following lines:

> Histories are the living memory, for they remind the descendants of memorable things, which might die or already lay dead and buried because of the length of time. Therefore I have desired to compile all things concerning our congregation that I thought to be memorable in one great book, lest they should be forgotten after all these years.[70]

It belonged to the rhetoric of historiographers such as Lehnemann and Ruytinck to lament the oblivion that had befallen the past and the reasons that had brought exiles abroad. However, these warnings should not be read as factual statements but rather as rhetorical exhortations to be mindful about the stranger churches' historical identities. The growing incorporation of migrant descendants into their places of residence does not imply a lack of consciousness of their historical identity. They had preserved many aspects of their ancestors' religion and culture and still lived within the networks inherited from their parents. The continuation of these networks did not take place automatically; the will of the church members was required. Chronicles like Ruytinck's and Lehnemann's aimed at keeping the congregation members mindful of their past and committed to their community. While it is difficult to measure the direct impact of their writings on the historical consciousness of their coreligionists, the allegiance of congregation members to their religious networks and circles remained stable.

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70 'Historien worden genoemt het leven van geheugenisse, omdat om datse de nacomelingen indarstig maken, de gedenkweerdighe saecken, die door langheyd des tijds dood ende begraven sijn, ofte versterven moghten. Hierom heb ik my verlustight in een groot boeck alles by een te vergaderen,, aengaende onse Ghemeente, dat my docht wetens ende ghedenckweerdich, op dat sulcx, door 't verloop van jaeren niet ganse vergeten en werde.' (London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/180/MS10055: *Kerckelicke oeffeningen en instellingen*, fol. 1r.).

Southern Institutions in the Dutch Republic

Not only in the diaspora abroad but also in the Dutch Republic, old institutions preserved the networks of the exiled forefathers. The paradox that Southerners were not really strangers in the Northern Netherlands gave migrant organizations ambiguous characters. As we saw in chapter 2, southern migrants contributed much to the patriotic discourses in the Republic, yet differed in many respects from the 'natives' and were sometimes regarded as 'foreigners.'

However, the Northern Netherlands increasingly became the cultural and geographical point of reference of the international Netherlandish diaspora. This paradox is reflected in the two northern legal institutions responsible for southern regions under States authority: the councils of Brabant and Flanders. The councils in exile exercised power over an imaginary cultural-geographical space that existed only in the past and, as some hoped, would do so again in the future. Even though these institutions claimed to be responsible for the two big southern provinces, only a small part of Flanders and Brabant was conquered by the States Army. The hybrid character of a Brabant law court outside the province of Brabant led to a unique situation where the council maintained laws made by the Habsburg enemy so that all the legal reforms of the Archdukes in the South were also introduced in the states territory.[71] While these two councils were later opened to Hollanders and Zeelanders, their office holders were traditionally Southerners and, until the 1620s, they were among the few political institutions easily available for migrants in the North. As such, they remained pivotal centers of southern elite circles.[72]

While the courts of Brabant and Flanders were not purely symbolic institutions and had indeed practical decisions to make in States territories, it is significant that they were located outside the regions for which they were responsible: the Court of Flanders in Middelburg and the Court of Brabant in The Hague. As institutions, they preserved the idea that Brabant and Flanders continued to belong to the Union of Utrecht and that claims on the homelands of numerous refugees had not yet been given up. They provided career opportunities for lawyers and politicians of southern descent and were centers of Brabantine and Flemish networks in Holland and Zeeland.

Other organizations in which southern networks were maintained in the Northern Provinces were the numerous Flemish and Brabantine chambers of

71 Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, pp. 268–269; Lindemann and Van Litsenburg, *Raad van Brabant*, deel 1, pp. 5–15.

72 Ibid.

rhetoric.[73] While in the first generation of refugees many rhetoricians from the South, including Joost van den Vondel and Frans Hals, had given up their allegiance to Flemish chambers of rhetoric and joined local Holland rhetoricians, many exile southern chambers continued to exist until the eighteenth century, be it with only a few members.[74] The themes on which these chambers composed songs, poems and plays often related to the status of their members as Southerners in the North and to the exile past. Especially in the chambers of Leiden and Haarlem, southern themes continued to prevail, as seen in the works of Jacob Duym, Jacob Celosse and Jacon van Zevecote, as discussed in chapter 3. Even though the chambers of rhetoric no longer played significant cultural roles after 1700, the Leiden Flemish chamber existed until at least 1777, and the Flemish rhetoricians in Haarlem also preserved their past for a long time.[75] An important family in these circles was the Van Elstlands, whose ancestors had fled Menen in West Flanders after the 1561 public execution of a family member accused of being a heretic. Until the eighteenth century, descendants of this Mennonite family belonged to the Flemish rhetoricians' chamber of Haarlem.[76] In 1690 Jan van Elstland, who had moved to Batavia on Java, still wrote poems in which he mentioned Menen. While he often sentimentally referred to Haarlem as home, he also depicted the West Flemish town as an idyllic place, and it serves as the rural setting of sometimes humorous plots.[77] Even though the prestige of the rhetorician culture declined after

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73 On the culture of rhetorician poetry in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, see e.g.: Arjan van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten. Rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480–1650)*, Amsterdam 2009; Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400–1650)*, Amsterdam 2008.

74 F. C. van Boheemen and Th. C. J. van der Heijden, *Retoricaal memoriaal. Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Hollandse rederijkerskamers van de middeleeuwen tot het begin van de achttiende eeuw*, Delft 1999; pp. 341, 380, 455, 493; F. C. van Boheemen and Th. C. J. van der Heijden, *Met minnen versaemt. De Hollandse rederijkers vanaf de Middeleeuwen tot het begin van de achttiende eeuw. Bronnen en bronnenstudies*, Delft 1999; J. Briels, 'Reyn Genuecht. Zuidnederlandse kamers van Rhetorica in Noordnederland 1585–1630.' In: *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis bijzonderlijk van het oud hertogdom Brabant* 57 (1974), pp. 3–89; Mieke Smits-Veldt, 'Het Brabantse gezicht van de Amsterdamse rederijkerskamer 'Het Wit Lavendel,' *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992), pp. 160–166.

75 Boheemen and Van der Heijden, *Retoricaal memoriaal*, p. 380.

76 Karel Bostoen, ' "Dat lyckent wel ongs dorp, seij arleveender boer en zag batavia . . . " Werk van Laurens van Els(t)land, zeventiende-eeuws Indisch-Nederlands dichter' in: *Indische letteren* 3 (1988), p. 204.

77 Karel Bostoen, *De van Elstland. Een Haarlems poëtengeslacht*, in: E. K. Grootes, *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem vóór 1800*, Hilversum 1993, 128; See also: Laurens van Elstland, *Jan onder de deecken* (eds Karel Bostoen, Marja Geesink en Mary Zijlstra), Leiden 2005, 3.

1650, it is telling that Flemish and Brabant organizations continued to exist and served as places of conviviality where the notion of a shared past united their members.[78]

As we saw in chapter 3, migrants were able to build ties to their new host societies quite easily and used collective memories to redefine their social positions among their neighbors. As this chapter shows, the migrants' participation and acculturation in their new homes did not necessarily inhibit their commitment to the old exile networks. The social contacts of the first generation were maintained and often actively reproduced by their children and grandchildren, be it informal family, friendship or business networks or official institutions. While a great number of descendants of migrants continued the transmigrant lives of their ancestors and constantly moved around through the various exile communities, others settled down after one or more generations. Through the close ties of the transnational Netherlandish diaspora or the local urban networks of Southerners in the Dutch Republic, those who did not migrate further continued to redeploy parts of the exile past.

78 Van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*, pp. 139f.

CHAPTER 6

Godly Wanderers: Exile Memories and New Cultures of Religious Exclusivism

Pilgrims behind the Fiery Column

The discourse of true Christians as a small and persecuted flock living as strangers in this world did not lose its appeal when actual persecutions retreated to the distant past. In the Dutch Republic and the exile towns abroad, the past of persecution and displacement was remembered and cultivated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1660, a century after the mass migration of Protestants and religious dissenters from the Low Countries, descendants of the migrants placed a memorial stone, the *Schepken Christy* ('Christ's little ship'), at a new doorway of the *Große Kirche* of Emden. The depiction of the church as Christ's little ship on a wild and hostile ocean emblematically represented the self-image of the Emden Reformed Church that had housed refugees from the Netherlands, and reminded the congregation's members of the status of the true church as a flock of strangers. The ship was accompanied by the text: 'God's church, persecuted and expelled, has received God's consolation here.'[1]

While the exile past of the Dutch refugees had never totally fallen into oblivion during the seventeenth century, identification with those who had fled and suffered for Christ's sake reached a new dimension in the context of new cultures of devotion and piety that emerged in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Protestantism. Remembering the suffering and hardship of previous generations corresponded to the religious logic of Post-Reformation piety movements that aimed for further reform both of the church and of individual Christians. As Lutheran theologian Gottfried Arnold noted in 1696, the times of persecution had been more beneficial to believers than the present days of peace and security as Christians now trusted more in their governments than God.[2] Many felt that persecution and exile had clarified the boundaries

1 'Godts Kerck vervolgt, verdreven, heft Godt hyr Trost gegeven.' See: Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, p. 226. See also: Elwin Lomberg, 'Ursachen, Vorgeschichte und Auswirkungen der Emder Synode von 1571,' in: Elwin Lomberg (ed.), *Emder Synode 1571–1971. Beiträge zur Geschichte und zum 400jährigen Jubiläum.*, Neukirchen 1973, pp. 14f.

2 Gottfried Arnold, *Die Erste Liebe Der Gemeinen Jesu Christi/ Das ist/ Wahre Abbildung Der Ersten Christen/ Nach Ihren Lebendigen Glauben Und Heiligen Leben*, Frankfurt 1696, cited

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between 'children of God' and 'the children of the world.' As Ole Peter Grell has argued, anxiety about belonging to the elect was alien to members of the transnational Reformed diaspora.[3] Indeed, there is virtually no evidence that this topic played any role in the lives of these refugees, but neither did it do so among other Dutch Reformed in the mid-seventeenth century. According to Grell, the doctrine of predestination served as encouragement rather than a threat to believers because their experience of suffering and persecution confirmed their election as God's people wandering towards the Promised Land. While this argument takes the doctrine of predestination as a theological *a priori* rather than as an outcome of the exile experience, Grell's observation generally seems accurate. The notion of having been persecuted for Christ's sake could be regarded as confirmation of God's approval and a distinction of the small flock of 'true Christians' among a hostile *massa damnata*.

While the Netherlandish exile churches in England and the Holy Roman Empire remained a minority easily distinguishable from the rest of society, the situation of the Reformed Church in the Dutch Republic was different. The position of Calvinists was highly ambiguous. After the rebel takeover of the Northern Provinces in the late sixteenth century, the Reformed Church became the 'public church' and its ministers were employed in public functions at foreign embassies, as military chaplains in the States Army or as pastoral workers on the Dutch East India Company's cargo ships. Their salaries were paid by the government. The public character of the Reformed Church, however, did not make it a state church, and in many ways it was able to fend off governmental interference more effectively than Reformed sister churches in Switzerland and the German territories. More important was the freedom of conscience that was formally maintained in the Dutch Republic, which gave all inhabitants the choice of simply attending, formally joining or never setting foot in the public church. Although services were frequented by many who never officially became members of the church, actual membership rates remained very low for a long period. Even in the early seventeenth century, only a small minority of the Dutch population made the final step of subscribing to the Reformed confession and joining the church.[4]

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after: Johannes Wallmann, 'Das Melanchthonbild im kirchlichen und radikalen Pietismus,' in: Johannes Wallmann, *Pietismus-Studien: Gesammelte Aufsätze* II, pp. 168–181, p. 177.

3 Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 303.

4 J. J. Woltjer, 'De plaats van de calvinisten in de Nederlandse samenleving,' in: *De zeventiende eeuw* 10 (1994), pp. 3–23; Judith Pollmann, 'Freiwillige Religion in einer "öffentlichen" Kirche. Die Anziehungskraft des Calvinismus in der Niederländischen Republik,' in: Ansgar Reiss and Sabine Witt (eds.), *Calvinismus. Die Reformierten in Deutschland und Europa*, Dresden 2009, pp. 176–181.

The status of the Reformed as a small privileged group within a society of undecided or lukewarm believers and sometimes religious antagonists was not due only to the fact that they formed a minority of the Republic's populace but also to the self-created exclusiveness that had become typical of Dutch version of Calvinism. While Reformed Protestantism had been imposed on entire populations in Scotland, Switzerland and parts of the Holy Roman Empire, the Dutch model of voluntary church membership gave the Reformed a special status which was, of course, not without a price. Associating oneself with the Reformed Church implied submission to church discipline and thereby potential involvement of consistories in one's personal life. By joining the church, godliness was demonstrated and identification with the minority of pilgrims progressing towards the Promised Land could be confirmed.

During the seventeenth century, the minority position of the Reformed in the Dutch Republic became more and more blurred. Church membership became increasingly common, and the influence of the Reformed on public life grew. This decrease in exclusivity was viewed by many as a threat that encouraged attempts to further reform the church in order to clearly define true Christian life and distinguish between faithful believers and lukewarm 'name-Christians.' Dutch programs for 'further reformation' coincided with similar religious movements in England and Germany, even though the degree to which these new cultures of religious renewal overlapped is heavily disputed. As Martin Brecht has argued, Pietism was a transnational as well as a transconfessional phenomenon that encompassed not only various confessional and denominational brands of German Pietism but also Dutch 'Further Reformation' and English Puritanism.[5] This view is shared by scholars who study interconnections and mutual dependencies between various religious renewal movements in the North Sea region and the German Protestant territories. Willem op't Hof has even gone so far as to postulate the existence of a common 'North Sea piety' that united English Puritanism with the experiential piety of later Dutch Calvinism.[6] According to Op 't Hof, the two devotional branches became more and more interconnected not only via trade relations between England and the Dutch Republic but also through the migrations of English and Scottish Puritans to the continent and the contacts which Dutch

5 Martin Brecht, *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, (*Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 1), Göttingen 1993, pp. 8f.

6 W. Op't Hof, 'Piety in the wake of trade. The North Sea as an intermediary of reformed piety up to 1700,' in: Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (eds.), *The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800). Proceedings of the International Conference held at Leiden 21–22 April 1995*, Hilversum 1996, pp. 248–265.

exiles in England maintained with their homeland. Both groups, British Puritans and Calvinist proponents of the Dutch 'Further Reformation,' shared the same ideals: the purification of the true church and the deepening of personal faith and piety.

The idea that various Dutch, English and German post-reformation renewal movements could be reduced to the common denominator 'Pietism' has become a target of severe criticism. Johannes Wallmann has argued, contrary to Brecht and Op't Hof, that the various piety movements were too different from one another, and warned of an unspecific equation of Pietism with piety in general. While some German and Dutch scholars saw the reception of sixteenth-century Puritan devotionals on the continent as an indicator of an emerging Pietist culture, Wallmann argued that this literature was also popular in the circles of Lutheran orthodoxy.[7]

The ways in which various new devotional movements in northwestern Europe influenced each other have been the subject of much debate. While German scholarship since Albrecht Ritschl has long assumed a Dutch origin of Pietism in Germany, this view has lost many of its proponents.[8] Instead, the various new Pietist movements along the North Sea and in Central Europe are thought to have influenced each other mutually rather than springing from a single point of origin from which the movement expanded. In accordance with this view, this chapter shows how the two branches, German Pietism and English Puritanism, not only adopted ideas and practices from the Dutch Further Reformation, but, far more importantly, also embraced identificatory models of the Netherlandish diaspora.

While the differences between the various piety movements in the Dutch Republic, England and Germany are undeniable, these new devotional movements shared a sense of exclusivism. Puritans, proponents of the Further Reformation as well as Lutheran and Reformed Pietists called for a purification of the church and its members and sensed that it was necessary to gather true

7 Johannes Wallmann, 'Die Nadere Reformatie und der deutsche Pietismus,' in: Johannes Wallmann, *Pietismus und Orthodoxie*, Tübingen 2010, pp. 406–426, especially 419ff. See also: Udo Sträter, *Sonthom, Bayly, Dyke und Hall: Studien zur Rezeption der englischen Erbauungsliteratur in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 1987, p. 115.

8 See e.g.: Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, Bonn 1880–1886, especially vol. 1: *Der Pietismus in der reformierten Kirche*; Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen Evangelischen Kirche*, Koblenz 1849–1860; Johannes Wallmann, 'Labadismus und Pietismus: Die Einflüsse des niederländischen Pietismus auf die Entstehung des Pietismus in Deutschland,' in: J. van den Berg and J. P. van Dooren (eds.), *Pietismus und Reveil*, Leiden 1978, pp. 141–168; Brecht, *Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, pp. 241ff.

believers who lived among lukewarm 'name-Christians.' This common motive became manifest in different forms. In England and those parts of the German Empire where the Reformation had imposed an official government-backed state church on the population, the need to unite the few 'true Christians' was felt more urgently than in the Dutch Republic where the Reformed Church was, at least not formally, a state church. As German Pietists and English Puritans sensed, the chaff and the wheat were combined and the church could become acceptable to God only if the two were, if not separated, at least clearly marked as such.

Douglas H. Shantz has characterized the religious culture of Pietism as informed by a 'theology of homelessness': true believers were never totally part of their social surroundings but always on their way to the 'Promised Land.'[9] This notion played an important role in Puritan, Pietist and various dissenter circles. In this context, the memory culture of the Netherlandish diaspora underwent a re-evaluation. The position of the Netherlandish exiles as a small minority of strangers with a past of persecution for the sake of faith appealed to sympathizers of further Church reform and new practices of piety. The culture of exile and the memory of confessional persecution became a source of inspiration for Pietists in Germany and Puritans in Britain, which led to cross-fertilizations between migrant churches and the Pietist circles of their host societies. This argument does not imply that there was any causal relationship between the Netherlandish heritage of exile and persecution. To be sure, the need to reform parochial life with more exclusive models of congregational life did not first emerge in the stranger churches but in established and inclusivist Protestant congregations. This quest for exclusivism often glorified the minority identities of the stranger churches and regarded past persecution as the true heritage of Protestant faith. Searching for inspiration in migrant circles of London and Frankfurt, Puritans and Pietists gave new life to the commemoration of the exile past. Interaction between new devotional circles and exile congregations shaped traces of cultural memory of the Netherlandish diaspora and transferred it into a new era.

Puritanism and the Fashioning of Transnational Identities

The transnational character of seventeenth and eighteenth-century piety movements not only connected cultures of devotion from different countries,

9 Douglas H. Shantz, 'Homeless Minds. The migration of Radical Pietists, their Writings and Ideas in Early Modern Europe,' in: Jonathan Strohm, Hartmut Lehman e.a. (eds.), *Pietism in Germany and North America: 1680–1820*, Farnham 2009, pp. 85–99.

it also contributed to new transnational and translocal identities that dissociated true Christians from their societal environment: their true homeland was not an earthly country but the New Jerusalem. The rhetoric of exile and being foreign had played an important role in early Puritan discourses. Minister William Ames, who migrated to the Dutch Republic in 1610, wrote on the position of Christians in this world:

> How can the world loue them that hate it, and haue little acquaintance with it, and are on the earth as pilgrims, wayting euery day for happie passage through the troublesome sea of this life, to their home, euen to the heauenly citie of Ierusalem.[10]

According to Stephen Baskerville, English Puritanism increasingly became a 'transnational ideology,' and many Puritan believers felt that the 'blood of Christ knows no nations': to them, being a Christian meant belonging to an international community of the elect rather than to their lukewarm Christian neighbors in English parish churches.[11] Obviously, many Puritans felt greater loyalty to the 'Church of Christ in Geneva, in France, in Germany, in Scotland, etc: allso in London the Italian Church, the French and the Dutch' than to the form of worship and church hierarchy imposed by the Church England.[12] Such words were more than mere rhetoric, and adherents of English Puritanism often did their best to help and financially assist their persecuted fellow Christians on the continent: during the Thirty Years War, notable Puritans donated substantial amounts of money to Calvinist exiles from the Palatine and Bohemia as well as to the poor of the French Reformed Church in London.[13] In their view, confessing Christians of all nations belonged together and bore a responsibility to help each other. As Scottish minister Henry Hall of Haughhead put it, true believers were called and singled out from all countries, which resulted in alienation from their home societies:

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10 William Ames, cited after: Keith L. Sprunger, *The Learned Doctor William Ames. Dutch Backgrounds of English and American Puritanism*, Urbana and Chicago 1972, p. 27.

11 Stephen Baskerville, 'Protestantism as a Transnational Ideology,' in: *History of European Ideas*, vol. 18, no. 6 (November 1994), p. 905.

12 Anonymous author, cited after: Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London,' in: Patrick Collinson, *Godly people. Essays in English Puritanism and Protestantism*, London 1983, p. 249.

13 Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 294; Patrick Collinson, 'Protestant Strangers and the English Reformation,' in: Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, *From Strangers to Citizens. The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and colonial America, 1550–1750*, London 2001, p. 65.

> Here they are but strangers and pilgrims out of their own country, but [. . .] the saints which are members of the church, though they live in the earth, yet they are accounted in scripture the citizens and inhabitants of heaven.[14]

While many Puritans actually left their homelands and migrated to the Dutch Republic or North America, the discourse of being strangers and exiles often preceded their actual migration. As Keith Sprunger has argued, the imagery of exile and pilgrimage was already available to English Puritans, and served as a source of comfort once they were abroad.[15] While the memory of the Marian exiles on the continent lingered, the inspiration to embrace an exclusive exile identity drew greatly on the memory of the persecution of Protestants in the Low Countries and France. Not only was the history of the hardships continental Calvinists had suffered recounted, the pastoral literature that emerged from the experience of exile and persecution found an enthusiastic readership among British Puritans. When Jean Taffin wrote his pastoral work *Of the markes of the children of God* in 1586, he dedicated it to Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick. Russell had clear Puritan sympathies and was connected to the Calvinist Dudley family through her husband, Ambrose Dudley. She acted as a patroness of English Puritans, and more than twenty book titles were dedicated to her. In 1590, Taffin's work was translated into English by Anne Locke Prowse, who had become a renowned author and translator of Puritan and Calvinist literature.

Of the markes of the children of God became an immediate success in England. While the French original and the Dutch translation were published only two or possibly three times before the early seventeenth century, the English edition appeared at least eight times between 1590 and 1634. During its first two decades, the book was particularly popular: various editions were published in 1590, 1591, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1608 and 1609.[16] The explanation of its asymmetrical success must be sought in the work's treatment of the question of who actually belonged to the children of God and how they could be recognized. For Taffin, the topic of election served a pastoral purpose; he tried to explain to persecuted believers that being exiled and afflicted should be regarded as a sign of God's adoption and not as a punishment. In the English

14 Henry Hall of Haughhead, cited after: Baskerville, 'Protestantism as a Transnational Ideology,' p. 904.

15 Sprunger, *The Learned Doctor William Ames*, p. 27.

16 Jean Taffin, *Of the markes of the children of God*, London 1590; 1591; 1595; 1597; 1599; 1608; 1609.

context, however, where Puritans found themselves a part of the mainstream religion imposed on all Englishmen by their State, the theme of predestination had a different significance. In a situation where everyone was considered a Christian, the need to distinguish 'true children of God' from 'children of the world' became more urgent. The imagery of exile was therefore especially appealing to the Puritan readers since the borders between the godly and the ungodly were so sharply drawn. All English editions contained the foreword in which the 'believers from the Low Countries' were directly addressed. The notion of belonging to a transnational community of true Reformed believers that had permeated Puritan theology and identity stimulated identification with refugees from the Netherlands and a willingness to support not only Calvinist strangers in England but also their persecuted brethren in the Netherlands and France.[17]

The transmission and distribution of Dutch pietistic works through the networks of the Netherlandish also took place in the Dutch Republic. While most of the leading theologians of the Further Reformation did not have a migration background themselves, their readers and publishers often did. Through Flemish exiles in England, Dutch theologians maintained contact with English Puritans such as Arthur Hildersam, Thomas Gataker and Richard Blackerby.[18] The distribution of devotional works from England was often facilitated by publishers with contacts in the exile networks. Notable publishers of devotional works of the Further Reformation movement included the Van den Vivere family in Middelburg and Francois Boels in Dordrecht, all of whom descended from Flemish refugees and operated in Southern Netherlandish exile circles.[19] The Van den Vivere family was famous for its publications of the Pietist theologian Willem Teellinck, who had also lived in England, while Boels published most of the work of Godfried Udemans, regarded as one of the founding fathers of the Dutch Further Reformation.[20] He also published Teellinck's works and numerous translations of English pietistic tracts by

17 Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the foreign Reformed churches,' p. 269

18 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 61.

19 On the southern network of Francois Boels, see: Willem J. Heijting, '"Voorsichtich ghelyck de slangen: en onnoosel als de duyven." De Dordtse uitgever François Boels,' in: *J. van der Haar tachtig jaar. Speciaal nr van: Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie* 23 (1999), nr. 2, pp. 117–183, there 118–120; J. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570–1630, een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek*, Nieuwkoop 1974, pp. 176, 477.

20 W. J. op 't Hof, *Bibliografische lijst van de geschriften van Godefridus Udemans* (Rotterdam 1993), pp. 12–13; W. J. op 't Hof, *Bibliografie van de werken van Eeuwout Teellinck* (Kampen 1988), p. 11.

Henry Ainsworth, Timothy Rogers, Joseph Hall, Thomas Goodwin and other notable Puritans.[21] The publishing company of Boels consisted almost exclusively of people of Southern Netherlandish origin who had sympathies for the Further Reformation, as did the relatives of his wife, who were also active in the printing and publishing business. This environment connected him with exiles in Britain as well as sympathizers of English Puritanism in the Dutch Republic who translated English works for him, such as Johan Sanderus, who was acquainted with notable exiled Puritans in Holland and Gelderland. Such networks were crucial for the interconnections of transnational Pietism and the exchange of ideas and styles of devotion.

London: Cultivating the Model Church

From their early beginnings onwards, Reformed stranger churches in England had had a special position within the country's religious landscape. The newly formed Church of England, especially after its re-establishment in 1559, combined a rather Reformed theology with a traditional church hierarchy and organization. After the Elizabethan religious settlement, the foreign Reformed stranger churches were envisaged by Puritan circles within the Church of England as 'model churches' to promote a truly Protestant style of worship, theology and life. While they still remained under the supervision of the Church of England and their respective bishops, they retained a certain degree of independence and were allowed to form their own synods. During the Elizabethan era, when the reform-oriented Edmund Grindal became Bishop of London in 1559 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1575, the stranger churches' subservience to the Church of England was minimal. The more Calvinist-oriented elements within the Church of England looked with admiration at the stranger communities and were willing to adapt to the church model of the exiled Netherlanders. In 1580, two English ministers from Colchester praised the local Dutch Reformed community as a good example 'both for liefe and religion generallie geeuen bie the strangers durynge their abode in Colchester haue been comfortable to all those that be godlie minded.'[22] In London, stranger churches had traditionally attracted locals, especially individuals who had been in exile during the reign of Mary Tudor.[23] Influential Puritans, such as Elizabeth's

21 Heijting, ' "Voorsichtich ghelyck de slangen: en onnoosel als de duyven,' " p. 126.

22 Cited after: W. J. C. Moens (ed.), *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645–1728*, (*Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. xii) London 1887, p. vi.

23 Hessels, *Archivum*, vol. 2, p. 482.

Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham and the wealthy merchant Thomas Myddelton, frequented the services of the stranger congregations rather than those of their local Anglican parish churches.[24] In turn, the Dutch congregation became more and more aware of its status as a 'model church' that needed to behave as a worthy example to the English. When in 1615 English Puritans were offended by a church banquet they deemed to be too luxurious in a religious context, the consistory decided to celebrate such meals in a more sober fashion. Even if the celebration of collective banquets was not considered sinful in itself, church members were called to be mindful of the fact that 'our congregations are meant to serve the locals as a role model and an example of piety.'[25]

Puritan sympathies for Reformed strangers were often viewed with suspicion by circles within the Church of England, who feared that Netherlandish Calvinists might kindle separatist tendencies among Church of England Puritans. After all, it was the genuinely Reformed presbyterial-synodal church order of Dutch Calvinism that was appealing to many British Puritans. During the tenure of William Laud as Bishop of London and, from 1633 to 1641, as Archbishop of Canterbury, relations between Puritans and Netherlandish Calvinists were increasingly supervised and regulated. Laudian circles suspected stranger congregations of harboring Puritans and other nonconformists with the result that in 1635 Englishmen without Netherlandish or French ancestry were forbidden to attend services at the stranger churches, a regulation that had first been enforced in the 1560s. Laud tried to oblige all second-generation migrants to join ordinary English parish churches.[26] This measure could never be fully implemented, but the intention shows how anxious Laudians were about the perceived Puritan and foreign Calvinist threat. During the course of the Civil War, royalist pamphleteers asserted that notable Puritans had consulted the consistory of Austin Friars 'to know of the state and government of their church, telling them that they would follow their

24 David B. J. Trim, 'Protestant Refugees in Elizabethan England Confessional Conflict in the Netherlands and France, 1562–c. 1610,' in: Vigne and Littleton, *From Strangers to Citizens*, p. 72.

25 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 197.

26 Hessels, III, 2380. See also: Ole Peter Grell, 'Continuity and Change. The Dutch Church in London, 1550–1650,' in: Werkgroep Engels Nederlandse Betrekkingen/Sir Thomas Brown Institute, *Refugees and Emigrants in the Dutch Republic and England* (Papers of the annual symposium, held on 22 November 1985), Leiden 1986, p. 48.

pattern.'[27] While the Netherlandish churches were not a direct target of royalist or Laudian attacks, they were often associated with the Puritan cause.

The alliances and influences between Puritans and Reformed immigrants were by no means one-directional. Not only did Puritans take inspiration from what they still perceived as model churches, they also exerted influence on Reformed stranger communities. Ministers of Dutch congregations maintained close contact with Puritan theologians such as John Cotton, Arthur Hildersam and Thomas Gataker.[28] These English divines were held in high regard and sometimes even acted as spiritual mentors to young Dutch clergymen who were willing to take a post in stranger churches. Thomas Gataker, for example, welcomed young theologians to his house to prepare them for church service:

> Of Forreigners that sojourned with him, and were as ambitious of being entertained by him as if they had been admitted into a University; these were some Mr. Theylein, who was afterwards a Reverend Pastor of the Dutch Church in London (whose son was brought by his mother but a fortnight before Mr. Gatakers decease, in treating the same good office in the behalf of him, which the Father had with much comfort enjoyed), Mr. Peters, Mr. And.Demetrius, Mr. Hornbeck, Mr. Rich, Mr. Swerd, Mr. Wittefrangel, Mr. Severinus Benzon, W. Georg de Mey, Dr. Treschovius, etc.[29]

Another Puritan household academy was established by Richard Blackerby, who educated and mentored Willem Thilenus and Jonas Proost, both of whom would later serve the Dutch congregation in London. Students who attended

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27 *Persecutio undecima. The Churches eleventh persecution. Or, a briefe of the Puritan persecution of the Protestant clergy of the Church of England: more particularly within the city of London. Begun in Parliament, Ann. Dom. 1641*, London, p. 58.

28 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 61.

29 Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines, famous in their Generations for Learning, Prudence, Piety and Painfullness in the Work of the Ministry*, London 1662, p. 146. J. van der Haar and W. J. op't Hof have identified these names as Willem Thilenus (according to Van der Haar erroneously Johannes Thilenus), Andreas Demetrius, Johannes Hoornbeeck (the nephew of the famous professor of the same name), Arnoldus de Rijcke, Jacobus Sweerd, Petrus Wittewrongel and George de Mey (J. van der Haar, 'Nederlandse theologen onder Engelse puriteinen,' in: *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 10 (1986), no. 3, pp. 105–108; W. J. op't Hof, 'De internationale invloed van het Puritanisme,' in: W. van 't Spijker, R. Bisschop and W. J. op 't Hof, *Het Puritanisme: geschiedenis, theologie en invloed*, The Hague 2001, pp. 318–319.).

the seminars of Gataker, Blackerby and Herbert Palmer had already finished their university studies and were preparing for the practical side of their profession under the spiritual supervision of notable Puritans. Although Blackerby also gave his students some lessons in Hebrew, the main emphasis of the meetings was on his 'excellent advice' in matters of 'doctrine and life.'[30] In such household seminars the Netherlandish students became acquainted with and were trained in the devotional style of Puritan Pietism and its emphasis on holiness in private and church life.

While hardly any of the notable proponents of the Dutch Further Reformation had exile backgrounds themselves, the channels through which they were exposed to English Puritanism often followed the Netherlandish diasporic networks between Britain and the Netherlands. Many of the students in Puritan households mentioned above returned to the Dutch Republic and became ministers there. Puritan ideas also entered the Netherlands via translations made by migrants from the Low Countries. Among the notable translators of English Puritan texts was John La Motte from Ypres, father of the merchant and London alderman of the same name whom we met in chapter 4. La Motte the Elder translated twenty-four texts, mostly devotional treatises, into Dutch. Another important translator was Vincent Meusevoet, a refugee from the Flemish town of Eeklo, who translated more than thirty English pietistic tracts into Dutch. In his later life he became a minister in the North Holland village of Schagen. Later translators of Puritan writings included Timotheus van Vleteren, minister of the Dutch Church in London, Mattheus du Bois, who was born in Norwich in 1620 and went to Haarlem with his parents, Johan Sanderus, to whom I referred earlier, and the famous Teellinck brothers.[31]

The fruits of the Puritan influence on the Netherlandish Reformed community in England became increasingly manifest in the church life of the stranger congregations, for instance in the sermons that were preached. As a preparation for homilies, Austin Friars ministers made lists of *loci communes* on which they could preach. Besides theological works and biblical commentaries by church fathers, medieval theologians and Reformers such as Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Luther, Calvin and Bucer, references to commonplaces included Puritan writings like the works of William Perkins, Thomas Hooker, John Jackson and Obadiah Sedgwick. In particular, Sedgwick's *The shepherd*

30 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 61. Jonas Proost would also serve the stranger church in Colchester before he moved to London.

31 W. J. op't Hof, 'De internationale invloed van het Puritanisme,' in: W. van 't Spijker, R. Bisschop and W. J. op 't Hof, *Het Puritanisme: geschiedenis, theologie en invloed*, The Hague 2001, pp. 313–314.

of Israel was frequently mentioned.[32] In 1606 Symeon Ruytinck established a library for the London congregation, which could be used by ministers to study and prepare sermons.[33] While it is unknown when certain books were purchased, by the end of the seventeenth century the inventory of English Puritan works was so extensive that a new volume of *loci communes* was begun, containing references only to these volumes.[34]

While most early modern sermons were not recorded, these *loci communes* of the Dutch Reformed Church in London offer us unique insight into the homiletic culture of the stranger churches and the topics on which ministers preached. The volume of commonplaces taken from English Puritans is particularly full of references to topics such as affliction, exile and persecution. The image of the faithful as wandering strangers in a hostile world, shared by English Puritans and exiles from the Netherlands, was a recurring theme in the services at Austin Friars. Under the entry 'affliction,' the compiler treated the question of how 'the sufferings of God's servants tend to the Churches advantage.' With references to Thomas Hooker, he echoed the concept of God's twofold punishment, which we have already seen in Taffin's and Balck's works in chapter 1: 'Every follower of Christ hath Affliction allotted to him as a childs part.' While these afflictions only served to purify and comfort the believers, they caused 'terror to the wicked whose portion is destruction at last.'[35] Under the entry 'persecution,' the compiler collected references to Puritan works on God's purpose behind the persecution of the godly and how the faithful were comforted in times of affliction. The extensive entry 'stranger' reflected typical Puritan notions on this topic. Being a stranger was once again presented as the natural state of Christians: 'We should call ourselves strangers on earth.' The faithful needed to be reminded that they were simply on a long 'voyage' to their eternal home; on earth they were homeless pilgrims who 'desire(d) their true house.'[36]

The imagery of pilgrimage and exile was not an exclusive feature of diasporic Calvinism or English Puritanism, but it was cultivated in a post-Reformation

32 See: London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/180/MS20185/006/00; CLC/180/MS20185/006/002; CLC/180/MS20185/006/003; CLC/180/MS20185/18.

33 Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603–1642*, Brill 1989, p. 80.

34 London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/180/MS20185/18. The title of the volume ('Locus Communis Practicus ex Anglicis Autoribus') refers only to English authors, but virtually all identifiable authors were well-known Puritans, such as William Perkins, Thomas Hooker, John Jackson and Obadiah Sedgwick.

35 Ibid., fol. 4. For the entry 'persecution,' see: fol. 58.

36 Ibid., fol. 253.

culture that sought religious exclusivity and a distinction between the 'children of the world and the children of God.' Memories of exile served as markers of identity that redefined true believers as a small group on their way to eternity. Commemorative meetings held by individual members such as John La Motte (see chapter 4) as well as the *agapae* or festive meals of the consistory that celebrated brotherly concord and reminded consistory members of their ancestors 'under the cross,' were manifestations of this mentality.[37]

Obviously, striving for exclusivity was part of the religious logic of post-Reformation piety movements and fueled sectarian alternatives to mainstream religion. Even if the stranger churches maintained and cultivated their identity as independent minority communities, they had to compete with radicalizing dissenter groups. Particularly after the Civil War, some members of migrant churches felt that their congregations had drifted too far towards a mainstream course. Particularly in East Anglia, such sentiments became an increasing problem, and the Dutch congregations in Colchester and Norwich lost many souls to Separatist Puritan or Congregationalist groups.[38] The struggle for exclusivity clearly had its ambiguities: while the consistories of the stranger churches did their best to dissuade their members from joining Separatists or Brownists, they were on friendly terms with English dissenter congregations in the Dutch Republic. The consistory of Austin Friars, for instance, had ties with the English Church of Delft, a congregation that never openly subscribed to the Separatist cause but was notorious for its refusal to accept any church government above its own consistory. In the 1640s, when confronted with the choice to submit either to the Dutch Reformed order or the Church of England, the consistory rejected both and somehow managed to evade interference from the Delft magistrate and the South Holland synod. This rendered the church a dissenter group, and some consistory members had such strong sympathies for Separatist Puritanism that they would walk out of church services whenever a minister preached against Brownists or other sectarians.[39] In the late 1670s and early 1680s the consistories of the English Church in Delft and the Dutch Church in London were in frequent correspondence and exchanged book and tract titles that they considered edifying. The Delft congregation recommended a number of Dutch Pietist works to the Netherlanders in London, especially Johan van Bleijswijck's *Bijbel-Balance, ende Harmonye-Boeck'* ('Bible balance and harmony book') and *Schat-boek en Journaal van korte gebeden*

37 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 192. See also: Chapter 4 of this book (pp. 124–5).

38 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart London*, p. 67.

39 Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, pp. 159, 161.

('Treasury and journal of short prayers').[40] The works of Van Bleijswijck were concerned with practical devotion and personal holiness and called their readers to flee from the ways of the ungodly *mont-christenen*, who confessed God with their mouths but did not live according to His will.[41] This type of literature was particularly popular in both English and Dutch migrant networks. In terms of theology and devotion, the two stranger churches had much in common and obviously felt connected through the notion of an international diaspora of true (Reformed) Christians. The bonds between exile churches on both sides of the North Sea were so strong that ministers were sometimes exchanged between English and Netherlandish stranger congregations. The last minister of the English Church in Delft before its dissolution in 1724 was Willem van Schie, who had served the Dutch stranger congregation in Norwich earlier and had traded one exile community for another.[42]

Frankfurt: Trans-Confessional Pietism and Diasporic Networks

The connections and mutual influences between the Netherlandish Reformed diaspora and English Puritans dated back to the period of emigration from the Low Countries and were strengthened by the notion of sharing the same theological convictions. In the German exile towns, however, the links between the exile networks and new cultures of piety developed in quite different ways. Not only did the German pietistic movement flourish considerably later than English Puritanism, the confessional affiliations of individuals and groups partaking in it were much more diverse. Descendants of Netherlandish exiles were strongly involved in German Pietist circles in towns where Dutch stranger churches were never conceived of as 'model churches' as in the English Puritan context. On the contrary, they were often not even recognized as minority churches but had to hold their services outside the city walls, as for example in Frankfurt, where both the Reformed and the Lutheran stranger congregations played important roles in local Pietist circles, while only the latter were allowed to worship within the city. Even if the culture of German Pietism was never totally de-confessionalized, both the Lutheran and the Reformed stranger

40 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, ns. 3780, 3857, 3859.

41 On Bleijswijck, see: T. Brienen, 'Johan Cornelisz. van Bleiswijk (1618–1696),' in: T. Brienen, L. F. Groenendijk, e.a. (eds.), *Figuren en thema's van de Nadere Reformatie*, vol. 1, Kampen 1987, pp. 71–82.

42 Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, p. 424.

congregations in this town played active and influential roles in devotional circles and networks that transcended denominational borders.

Frankfurt is usually regarded as the stage of the birth of Lutheran Pietism in Germany. While this view is still prevalent among historians of Pietism, the role of this town as a breeding ground for new cultures of devotion has recently been revisited.[43] In the older scholarly literature on this movement, the iconic figure of Philipp Jakob Spener, who came to Frankfurt from Strasburg as senior pastor in 1666 and promoted the formation of spiritual conventicles from the 1670s onwards, is often considered the initiator of Frankfurt Pietism. This interpretation distanced Lutheran Pietism from earlier pietistic movements suspected of heterodoxy and sectarianism. In the 1970s, Spener's central role was put in greater perspective when Johannes Wallmann and others pointed at predecessors like the lawyer Johann Jakob Schütz, who represented a more radical form of Pietism with stronger separatist tendencies.[44] Long before Spener's arrival, a vivid 'radical religious subculture' had emerged in Frankfurt in which members of both the Reformed and Lutheran congregations were involved. As an important European trading town, Frankfurt functioned as a pivot for various nonconformist religious networks.[45] While Spener had tried to distance himself from these earlier pietistic subcultures, they formed the substrate of the Lutheran reform movement he sought to initiate. These subcultures were not confessionally determined but allowed believers of various confessions to participate.

Among those active in these pre-Pietist circles of Frankfurt were many descendants of migrants from the Low Countries. Many of the printers and publishers with migrant backgrounds were specialized in publishing English Puritan or Dutch devotional literature. After the death of Levinus van Hulsen, who had fled Ghent to Middelburg and later to Frankfurt, his wife Maria Ruting took over the family publishing house in 1606 and specialized in translations of Puritan works by authors such as Robert Abbot, Thomas Draxe, Arthur Dent and especially William Perkins.[46] Their son, Friedrich van Hulsen, continued

43 See for a short summary of the literature on the origins of Pietism in Frankfurt: Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe*, Baltimore/Maryland 2013, p. 71.

44 Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, Tübingen 1986 (1970), p. 354. See also: Johannes Wallmann, 'Lutherischer und reformierter Pietismus in ihren Anfängen,' in: Johannes Wallmann, *Pietismus-Studien: Gesammelte Aufsätze* II, pp. 146–154.

45 Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, p. 73.

46 Andreas Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz und die Anfänge des Pietismus*, Tübingen 2002, p. 25; Josef Benzing, 'Hulsius, Levin,' in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1974), p. 30.

the business until 1641 when he sold it to Christoph Leblon, also a descendant of Reformed migrants. Johann Aubry, active in Hanau, published writings of notable theologians of the Dutch 'Further Reformation' such as Gisbert Voetius' *Von Eintzelner Versammlung der Christen* ('On the gathering of individual Christians'), which was translated into German by Johann Jakob Schütz and inspired Lutheran theologians to initiate spiritual conventicles in Frankfurt.[47]

Another publisher active in the pietistic subculture of Frankfurt was Lucas Jennis, son of a goldsmith from Brussels. His profile as a publisher was more radical, and he specialized in spiritualist and alchemistic tracts and books.[48] His business was also taken over by Leblon, who was able to combine two important branches of spiritual literature popular in the Frankfurt religious subculture: pietistic and Puritan works and mystical and alchemistic tracts. In addition to the publishing houses of Van Hulsen and Jennis, Leblon also took over the business of his father-in-law Matthäus Merian and became an important supplier of pietistic and mystical literature to Germany and the Netherlands, often operating in alliance with the Amsterdam publisher Hendrik Beets. Along with Lutheran pietistic authors such as Johann Arndt, Puritans like William Perkins and late medieval mystics, they also published Rosicrucian works.[49] In 1664 Leblon was accused of having published a German translation of the Remonstrant edition of the Greek New Testament by the antitrinitarian Jeremias Felbinger, and the consistory of the Amsterdam Reformed Church sent a complaint to the Frankfurt magistrate. Unlike its Amsterdam sister congregation, the Reformed community in Frankfurt seems to have been a breeding ground for radical ideas, and in 1639 the assembly of Lutheran pastors reported that among the Reformed were many 'Schwärmer' who had formed secret conventicles.[50]

Many of the books published by Leblon employed the imagery of exile and exodus in a strongly allegorized and spiritualized form, such as Johann Arndt's sermons on the ten Egyptian plagues that were warning signs to believers to leave Egypt for the Promised Land, or the anonymous *Geistliche Schöpffung und Reise des wahren Israels aus Egypten* ('Spiritual creation and the journey of the true Israel out of Egypt').[51] Leblon was also involved in the publication

47 Claudia Tietz, *Johann Winckler (1642–1705). Anfänge eines lutherischen Pietisten*, Göttingen 2008, p. 257.

48 Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game: Alchemical Engravings of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1988, p. 15.

49 Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 26.

50 Ibid., pp. 20, 28.

51 Johannes Arndt, *Zehen schöne lehr- und geistreiche Predigten von den zehen grausammen und schrecklichen egiptischen Plagen*, Frankfurt 1657; *Geistliche Schöpffung und Reise des wahren Israels aus Egypten*, Frankfurt 1664.

of Richard Brathwaite's *The Penitent Pilgrim*, probably as an illustrator.[52] In the preface to the *Geistliche Schöpffung* he asserted that this work was based on a Dutch manuscript of unknown authorship and origin which he had inherited from his dead brother. While some passages show similarities to the works of Coornhert, especially the chapter on Abraham's exodus from Ur, there is no evidence of the existence of such a manuscript or another printed edition of the text, so it is possible that Leblon himself wrote or rewrote large passages of the text.[53] The *Geistliche Schöpffung* narrates biblical history as an allegory for the internal spiritual development of the Christian. From the history of the creation and the fall of mankind to the life of the patriarchs, the exile motif is strongly pronounced throughout the entire book, and the life of a Christian is presented as a pilgrimage 'of the True Israel out of Egypt.' From Abraham, who had to leave his hometown Ur, to Moses, Aaron and Joshua, who had to lead Israel through the desert towards the Promised Land, the heroes of the Old Testament had to be understood as spiritual role models who exemplified obedience to God and wanted to gather the true believers. The *Geistliche Schöpffung* sharply distinguishes between Egypt and the 'true Israel' signifying two antagonistic spiritual principles, bondage to the world and orientation towards godly things respectively:

> While the land of Egypt signifies this world, it is very common that man begins to love this earthly time beyond any measure, when he lives in joy and happiness to which he is so attached that he does not desire eternity and so dazzled that he longs for nothing but temporal goods in Egypt all of his days [. . .].[54]

In order to spur on the Christian to leave Egypt and move on to the Promised Land, God often has to use afflictions to convince believers of the vanity of all worldly things. Even the elect often remain obstinate and need to be brought to redemption:

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52 Richard Brathwaite, *The penitent pilgrim: bemoning his sinfull condition. Faith appeares unto him affording him comfort hope seconds that comfort charity promiseth him in this vaile of missery to cover all his scarlett sins*, London 1651.

53 See Ibid., pp. 17–18 (chapter 7, 'Von Abrahams Außganck, nach dem geistlichen gelobten Land, und seiner Berufung') and Coornhert, *Abrahams Uytgangh*.

54 'Dieweil durch das Land Egypten diese Welt verstanden wird, so geschichts nur allzuviel, daß dem Menschen diese Zeit über alle massen lieb und angenehm wird, dieweil er in Freud und Wollust lebet, und ist demselben so sehr geneigt, daß er nach der Ewigkeit kein Verlangen trägt, und wird also sehr verblendet, daß er nichts anders dann alle Tage zeitliche Sachen in Egypten begehret [. . .].' (*Geistliche Schöpffung*, p. 14.)

> Man is not earlier released from this world, if he is not aggrieved before. Yea, before he is released from the Egypt of this world, he must carry away the great penances and the filth, for he must learn to withstand all evil and wicked deeds, that are opposed to nature and in which man is tried, before he can leave the Egypt of this world.[55]

Such theological interpretations of the exodus narrative aimed to guide and reflect the spiritual development of individual believers. In addition to this allegorical individual application, the idea of a separation of the 'true Israel' from unholy Egypt could be read in an ecclesiological sense. Moving out of Egypt could also mean leaving the institutional church to search for more purity or spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual conventicles outside the church that aspired to be a gathering of the 'true Israel' that had to leave 'Babylon' played an essential part in the culture of Pietism that would emerge from the 1670s onwards in Frankfurt.[56] Spener, as an important initiator of the so-called *collegiae pietatis*, did not envisage these conventicles as entities separate from the Church but rather as gatherings of the *ecclesiola in ecclesia* or the small (true) Church within the larger (institutional) Church. However, separatist tendencies would become a strong undertow in the culture of the Pietist conventicles and informal spiritual circles.

Among the members of the Frankfurt and Hanau stranger churches involved in earlier pietistic circles such as Christoph Leblon, Lucas Jennis and the Van Hulsen, Neefen and Merian families, openly separatist tendencies were rare before the 1670s when the culture of Pietism began to take root in Frankfurt. The Reformed Church, which still consisted predominantly of descendants of migrants from the Low Countries, increasingly became a center of Pietist ideas and in 1663 tried to employ Theodor Undereyck, the 'founding father' of German Reformed Pietism who had studied under Gisbert Voetius and was eager to introduce the theological program of the Dutch Further Reformation in Germany.[57] In the following years, the consistory of the congregation was

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55 'Der Mensch komt auch nicht eher auß dieser Welt, er werde dann zuvor also eher getrucket, ja ehe er auß dem Egypten dieser Welt komt, so muß er die grosen Bußen und den Unflath wegtragen, dann alle schlechte schnöde Wercke, die der Natur zuwider sind, in welchen der Mensch probieret wird, muß er lernen ausdauren, eher auß dem Egypten dieser Welt heraus kommet.' (Ibid.)

56 Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, p. 83; Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 183, 201.

57 Undereyck, however, refused the call to Frankfurt and went to Mülheim. (Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 29.)

dominated by a number of merchants who had clear Pietist sympathies, such as Jacob van de Walle, Daniel Behaghel, Abraham Herff, Frans Balde, Simon Leblon and Peter de Neufville. In the 1670s, some of the influential consistory members developed increasingly radical inclinations and established contacts with mystics such as Pierre Poiret and Antoinette Bourignon and separatists such as Jean Labadie and the Frankfurt lawyer Johann Jakob Schütz.[58] Daniel Behaghel and Jacob van de Walle even joined the circle of the so-called Saalhof Pietists, named after the medieval building where they held their gatherings.[59] While the Saalhof group did not initially have an explicitly separatist outlook but was rather set up as a conventicle alongside regular Lutheran and Reformed church services, many participants, like the aforementioned Schütz, felt that they could no longer be part of the institutional church but had to 'flee Babel' to join the community of the 'true believers.'[60] They also took communion in the Saalhof and refused to receive it elsewhere.

While Schütz, who had been a Lutheran, cut all ties to the institutional church and began to see the Saalhof as his new spiritual home, the Reformed members of the conventicle did not feel the need to do so. Because of the position of the Reformed congregation as a minority church that was not even officially recognized and had to be located outside the town walls, they were already separated from Frankfurt's mainstream Lutheranism against which Schütz rebelled. While Schütz increasingly saw himself as a religious outcast and sometimes expected to be exiled or even martyred for his beliefs, members of the Reformed Church were already dissidents in Frankfurt and they did not feel the need to distance themselves from the 'Babylonian' state church as fiercely as Schütz did.[61] The same tendencies could also be found among Pietist members of the Netherlandish Lutheran Church. Katharina Elisabeth Bartels, Johann Jakob Schütz's wife, who descended from Antwerp refugees and, as a member of the Netherlandish congregation of the Augsburg Confession, distanced herself from the institutional Lutheran Church much later than her husband. This was certainly not due to her more conciliatory

58 Ibid., p. 154, 152. Jacob van de Walle, in particular, had many contacts in spiritual circles abroad. According to Deppermann, he was the only Frankfurter who personally knew Bourignon.

59 Barbara Dölemeyer, 'Die Reaktion der Landesherren und Kirchen auf das Auftreten van Sekten im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,' in: Hartmut Lehmann (ed.), *Religiöser Pluralismus im vereinten Europa: Freikirchen und Sekten*, Göttingen 2005, p. 23.

60 Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism*, p. 83.

61 On Schütz's references to exile and martyrdom, see: Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, pp. 185f.

character—on the contrary, she was characterized by visiting Lutheran ministers as 'far more stubborn' than her husband.[62] While Johann Jakob Schütz refused to take communion in the Lutheran Church as early as 1676, there is no evidence that his wife had conflicts with her congregation until the 1690s after the death of her husband. In 1700, Katharina Elisabeth Bartels finally decided to distance herself from the Lutheran Church and did not allow her daughters to be catechized by a Lutheran minister.[63] For a long time her Netherlandish congregation remained more appealing to her than the Lutheran Church had been to her husband and, despite her separatist sympathies, she did not leave until the late 1690s.

In Schütz's writings, in which he argued that true Christians had to leave the institutional churches, he presented the current state of the godly as one of dispersion. Between various organized churches, the followers of Christ lived in a virtual diaspora and needed to be gathered in conventicles free from the yoke of church authorities.[64] Conversely, the language of exile that was part of Pietist discourse gave minority churches of Frankfurt, with pasts of exile and persecution, special appeal. Many of their leading members were engaged in Pietist circles but did not leave their stranger churches. Although Pietist separatism prospered in the surroundings of the diasporic networks, it had a different effect on minority congregations than on established Lutheranism; instead of competing with alternative cultures of devotion and piety, stranger churches attracted members with Pietist inclinations. While Lutheranism had to compete with separatists, the Frankfurt Reformed Church became a hotbed for radical Pietist ideas; in 1689 the congregation went so far as to elect the notorious Heinrich Horche as its minister. Horche, who also became a professor at the Reformed Academy of Herborn in 1690, was a Pietist with strong millenarian inclinations. He later claimed to have visions and was incarcerated after suffering long periods of mental illness. In 1698, the Frankfurt congregation was forced to dismiss him; however, he had had a long-lasting impact on the congregation's life by introducing the catechizations and *exercitiae pietatis* that would remain a tradition among Frankfurt's Reformed.[65]

62 Hermann Dechent, 'Schütz, Johann Jakob,' in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* Band 33, Leipzig 189, p. 935

63 Taege-Bizer, 'Katharina Elisabeth Schütz, eine streitbare Pietistin,' p. 183.

64 Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 203.

65 Ibid., pp. 156f.

Building the New Jerusalem—Frankfurt and the 'Holy Experiment'

The language of exile and the 'theology of homelessness' cultivated in Frankfurt's Pietist circles had spiritual as well as practical implications. Johann Jakob Schütz's daughter Maria Katharina left all her possessions to the 'persecuted children of God,' by which she meant fellow Pietists who considered themselves persecuted outcasts of society.[66] The self-perception of her father as a stranger and outsider in his hometown resulted in a reinforcement of translocal relations with other Pietists outside Frankfurt. Through the network of Jacob van de Walle, with whom he attended the conventicle meetings at the Saalhof, he established contacts with many Reformed Pietists, Labadists and Quakers in Northern Germany and the Dutch Republic. Among his contacts were Reformed minister Cornelis de Hase in Bremen, John Dury in Kassel, Antoine Greslot in the Palatine, Pierre Poiret in Hamburg, Rainer Copper in Wieuwerd (Frisia) and Benjamin Furley in Rotterdam.[67] All those men belonged to dissident diasporic networks: De Hase was a descendant of Netherlandish exiles, Greslot and Poiret were Huguenots, Rainer Copper had left Germany for a Labadist community in Frisia, Furley was a British Quaker in Holland and John Dury was a Scottish Calvinist with millenarian leanings. Even though Schütz did not leave his hometown, he operated in a social environment where geographical mobility was the norm and migration was part of one's religious identity.

Schütz's many contacts in various diasporic networks in Frankfurt and beyond included Anna Maria van Schurman, the famous 'learned maiden of Utrecht' who had studied with Gisbert Voetius yet become a follower of the notorious separatist Pietist Jean de Labadie.[68] Van Schurman, who was born in Cologne in 1610 to exiled Calvinists from Antwerp, grew up in Utrecht but later followed Labadie on his peregrinations through Northern Germany where he and his followers sought to establish a godly community in the countryside. Having grown up in a diasporic milieu, Van Schurman depicted her departure

66 Jutta Taege-Bizer, 'Katharina Elisabeth Schütz, eine streitbare Pietistin,' in: Gisela Engel, Ursula Kern and Heide Wunder (eds.), *Frauen in der Stadt—Frankfurt im 18. Jahrhundert*, Königstein/Taunus 2002, p. 189.

67 Ibid., p. 152.

68 Pieta van Beek, *The First Female University Student. Anna Maria van Schurman*, Utrecht 2010, pp. 220f. On the international Pietist network of Anna Maria van Schurman, see: Miriam van Baar, 'Internationale und interkonfessionelle Netzwerke. Zur frühen lutherisch-pietistischen Rezeption von A. M. van Schurman und Antoinette Bourignon,' in: Ulrike Gleixner and Erika Hebeisen (eds.) *Gendering Tradition. Erinnerungskultur und Geschlecht im Pietismus*, Korb 2007, pp. 85–105.

from Amsterdam with Labadie in terms of the biblical narratives of exile and exodus. Van Schurman regarded the small group around Labadie as representing the few true Christians who lived in dispersion among the ungodly:

> But God has taught us through the outcome of the things themselves, that there, as in a desert, he had intended to use the service of his most faithful servants in order to gather and found a church of Noah out of few faithful members.[69]

As in the days of the deluge when the only righteous people were Noah and his family, the Labadists had had to dwell among hostile sinners, but as Israel had been led out of Egypt, so had God prepared a place for them in the desert where they rightly worshipped Him. On their trek through Germany they were welcomed at the Herford court of Elisabeth of the Palatine, daughter of Frederick V, the Winter King, where they were allowed to lodge at a country estate:

> We were taught through this experience that God had elected Himself this place to separate our church from all those in Amsterdam who put together God and the world, Christ and Belial, God and Mammon and all other things that are different from God, and who were able to mingle godly things with greed, vanity and other things that are poison to the spiritual life. In this place, however, there was no absolutely commercial profit, worldly honor or luxury that one could expect for himself or his descendants.[70]

The realization of such a godly community where true believers lived separated from the 'sinful world' was not accomplished in Herford but in the

69 'Maar God heeft ons door de uitkomste der dingen zelve, dit geleert, dat hy aldaar als in een woestijne had voorgenomen den Dienst van deze sijne zeer getrouwe dienstknechten te gebruiken, om uit weinige gelovige leden, als een Kercke van Noach t'zamen te stellen en te formeren.'(Anna Maria van Schurman, *Eucleria of uitkiezing van beste deel*, [1684], Leeuwarden 1978, p. 289.)

70 'Wy waren nu door de ondervindinge geleerd, dat God hem deze plaatze verkoren had, om onze Kercke van al die gene aftezonderen, die God en de werelt, Christus en Belial, of God en den Mammon, en alle andere dingen die van God verscheiden zijn, tot Amsterdam hadden konnen t'zamenvoegen, en van die in staat waren om de gierigheit, de hovaardije, en ander vergift van het geestelijke leven, onder de Goddelijke dingen te vermengen; nadien men in die plaats geheel geen gewin uit koopmanschap, en geheel geen eere en gemak, of voor zig of zijn nakomelingen te verwachten had.' (Ibid., p. 303.)

Frisian village of Wieuwerd where Labadie and his followers settled and were joined by sympathizers from Germany, such as the aforementioned Rainer Copper. Unaffected by the temptations of earthly gains, Van Schurman and the Labadists hoped to establish an environment where true Christian life was possible. As exiles from a sinful society they worshipped their God in the desert, remote from the world that used his name in vain and tried to combine the love of Christ with the love of Mammon.

An even more ambitious project to build a godly community was envisaged by others in Schütz's Pietist network. In 1677 William Penn, who also corresponded with Elisabeth of the Palatine, visited Frankfurt and became acquainted with Schütz and the Saalhof Pietists. The contacts between Schütz, Jacob van de Walle, Daniel Behaghel and Penn were immediately warm. As Penn noted in his journal:

> The persons who resorted thither were generally people of considerable note, both of Calvinists and Lutherans; and we can say, they received us with gladness of heart, and embraced our testimony with a broken and reverent spirit, thanking God for our coming amongst them, and praying that He would prosper his work in our hands.[71]

With Penn, a Quaker, the Frankfurters shared their vision that true believers should leave the European 'Babylon' and seek a place where they could live and worship without interference from the sinful society in which they lived. Penn's plan was to buy land in North America and build a community of marginalized European Christians. His 'Holy Experiment' idea was enthusiastically received by his new friends in Frankfurt. To support Penn's vision, Schütz, Behaghel, Van de Walle and Caspar Merian established the 'Frankfurt Company' to buy land in what would later be called Pennsylvania.[72] Through their translocal network they were able to attract investors such as Dutch merchants Johan Laurens and Abraham Hasenvoet, Thomas von Wylich and Johann Le Brun from Wesel and Gerhard van Maastricht from Cologne.[73] The agent they sent

71 See: William Penn, *Journal of William Penn, while visiting Holland and Germany in 1677*, Philadelphia 1878, p. 48.

72 See also: Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, pp. 300ff. See also: Edwin B. Bronner, *William Penn's 'Holy Experiment.' The Founding of Pennsylvania, 1681–1701*, New York 1978, p. 63; Margo M. Lambert, *Francis Daniel Pastorius. An American in Early Pennsylvania, 1683–1719/20*, PhD thesis Georgetown University 2007, p. 74.

73 Deppermann, *Johann Jakob Schütz*, p. 330f.; Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times*, Philadelphia and London 1901, pp. 22f.

to America was Francis Daniel Pastorius who, in letters to his family, revealed explicit chiliast ideas. Pastorius feared that God would soon punish Europe for its sins, and believed that emigration to the New World was the only way to evade his wrath.[74] While not all participants in the 'Holy Experiment' shared Pastorius' apocalyptic fears, the idea of fleeing Babylon and building a 'New Jerusalem' attracted Pietist believers around Schütz.

The numerous descendants of Netherlandish migrants thus preserved the translocal outlook of their ancestors. Without their networks and contacts, a project like the Frankfurt Company would not have been possible. Even if persecution and exile belonged to the remote past, these descendants preserved a diasporic mentality and were often more willing to migrate than individuals without a migration background. It was not only the founders and investors of the Frankfurt Company who had a diaspora background but most of the first migrants to Pennsylvania as well. The first settlers who followed the Frankfurt Company to Germantown, the famous 'Original Thirteen,' were in fact Germans from Krefeld who had descended from Mennonite and Reformed exiles from the Netherlands: Abraham, Dirck and Herman op den Graeff, Wilhelm Strepers, Lenerd Arets, Reynier Tison (Thyssen), Jan Lens(s)en, Jan Seimens, Abraham Tunes Klinken, Peter Keurlis, Johann Luycken, Teunis Coenen and Johannes Bleickers.[75] According to William Hull, virtually all of the first 175 migrants to German towns had Dutch roots in Germany, although the exact numbers are a disputed issue.[76] The Dutch-German religious networks in Pennsylvania remained important for the preservation of memories of persecution in the Low Countries. When in 1748 the first complete German translation of

74 Ibid., p. 332.

75 John Palmer Garber, Naaman Henry Keyser e.a., *History of Old Germantown. With a Description of Its Settlement and Some Account of Its Important Persons, Buildings and Places Connected with Its Development*, vol. 1 Philadelphia 1907, pp. 29, 91; Friedrich Nieper, *Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien. Ein Bild aus der religiösen Ideengeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Moers 1940, pp. 16f., 90; Don Yoder, 'Problems and Resources in Pennsylvania German Genealogical Research,' in: Marion F. Edge, *Pennsylvania German Roots Across the Ocean*, Philadelphia PA 2000, pp. 1–19, esp. p. 7; Wilhelm Niepoth, 'The Ancestry of the Thirteen Krefeld Emigrants of 1693, in: Marion F. Edge, *Pennsylvania German Roots Across the Ocean*, Philadelphia PA 2000, pp. 87–103;

76 William Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*, Swarthmore 1935, pp. 395ff. On the discussion about the ancestry of the first Germantown migrants, see: Claus Bernet, 'Das deutsche Quäkertum in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ein grundsätzlicher Beitrag zur Pietismusforschung,' in: *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 60, 2008, p. 218.

Tieleman van Braght's Mennonite martyrology was published, the work did not appear in Germany or Switzerland, but in Ephrata, Pennsylvania.[77]

'The Trying Fires of Persecution'

The eschatological interpretation of the present as a conflict between Israel and Babylon was often directly linked to the commemoration of the persecutions of the sixteenth century. In the foreword of his history of the Netherlandish Lutheran congregation of Frankfurt, Johannes Lehnemann makes clear that the commemoration of the past served a didactic purpose: to show present believers the true nature of Babylon, as dangerous nowadays as in the days of martyrs. After the account of the death of his ancestor Schobland Bartels, burned at the stake in Antwerp in 1568, he switches to the present. While the situation of the believers seems secure, Satan is still raging against them, and the only force keeping persecution at bay is the hand of God.[78] This eschatological reality needed to be kept in mind, so it was necessary to commemorate the fate of the ancestors. At the annual commemoration service during which new elders and deacons were elected, the congregation was reminded that the battle between Christ and the Antichrist was not yet over, and that believers had to run to their savior to flee future persecution:

> The honorable minister Starck, whom our Netherlandish congregation considers its spiritual father, has reminded us of this in his annual sermon. We have to follow his faithful exhortations to arm ourselves with the mentality that was displayed by our devout ancestors in their trials of faith. None of us shall ever regret this Christian resolution, and having written this tract on their (the congregation's) demand has been a special pleasure to me.[79]

77 Tieleman Jansz. van Braght, *Der blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyren Spiegel der Tauffs Gesinnten oder Wehrlosen-Christen*, Ephrata 1748. The agents behind this translation were Johann Conrad Beissel and Johann Peter Müller (John Peter Miller). On the collaboration between the Beissel's Ephrata Brethren and the local Mennonite congregation, see: Patrick M. Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits. Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania*, Chapel Hill 2012, pp. 258ff.

78 Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, 'Zuschrift' (unpaginated foreword).

79 'Ihro Hoch=Ehrw., Herr Pfarrer Starck der Aeltere, welchen unsere Niederl. Gemeinde als ihren geistlichen Vatter ehret, hat uns dieses schon etlichmahl in der jährlichen Sermon zu Gemüthe geführet. Dessen treuen Vermahnungen haben wir ja billig zu folgen, daß wir uns wapnen mit dem Sinn, welchen unsere gottseelige Vorfahren allenthalben in

In order to better understand their ancestors' fate, members of the Netherlandish Lutheran Church were to read more about their past and study the original sources, which Lehnemann thought essential for their understanding of both of their past and their present religious identity.[80]

While there is no evidence that Lehnemann was involved in any of the Frankfurt conventicles, his Pietist sympathies were obvious, and in crucial passages of his *Historische Nachricht* he repeatedly quotes Spener as an authority.[81] In addition to Lehnemann himself, wide circles of his congregation were influenced by Pietist culture, probably through its 'spiritual father,' minister Johann Friedrich Starck, who often preached in the Netherlandish church. Starck, a fervent Pietist, remained strongly opposed to the separatism of radical Pietist circles.[82] In his writings he defended the Lutheran Church and called on separatists to return. While he admitted that the Church was full of sinners and needed further purification and correction, he regarded separation and the need for exclusivity to be a sin against Christ's commandment of brotherly love. The Netherlandish congregation of the Augsburg Confession, in full alliance with the Lutheran Church of Frankfurt, represented a model that attracted him. In the Pietist culture that prized exclusivity, the congregation's past of exile and persecution proved a trump. In full accordance with Lutheran orthodoxy and free of separatist tendencies, its exile background gave the congregation a special status within the religious landscape of Frankfurt. Its roots lay in a time when confessing the faith was still dangerous and demanded sacrifices. Unlike many of their German coreligionists, the exiles had not become Lutherans for opportunistic reasons but by choice and in the face of severe threat. These exiled ancestors served as examples of piety, and in an elaborate discourse Lehnemann argues that even those who had not become martyrs but had fled their homes for the sake of faith deserved the martyr-like status of *confessores* and needed to be commemorated and honored as well.[83] In the eyes of Lehnemann and Starck, it was their exile experience that had made the refugees from the Low Countries so pious, and they served as examples

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ihren Glaubens=Prüfungen haben blicken lassen. Keinen unter uns wird jemahls dieses Christliche Vornehmen gereuen; mich aber insonderheit vergnügen, daß ich auf ihr Angeben diesen Tractat zu Ehren unserer Gemeinde geschrieben habe.' (Ibid., 'Zuschrift' [unpaginated foreword].)

80 Ibid., p. 121.

81 Ibid., pp. 27, 38, 134 and in the unpaginated foreword.

82 See e.g.: Johann Friedrich Starck, *Ungrund der Absonderung der so genannten Separatisten, von der öffentlichen Kirchen-Versammlung und vom Heil. Abendmahl*, Frankfurt 1733.

83 Lehnemann, *Historische Nachricht*, 'Zuschrift' (unpaginated foreword).

of godliness. According to Starck, the pursuit of godliness meant imitating 'the mentality that has been displayed by our devout ancestors in their trials of faith.'[84] Lehnemann even compares the forefathers to the first church in Jerusalem:

> These laudable and Christian deeds made the Netherlanders so loved by the inhabitants of this town, that one could say of them what St Luke said of the first Christian congregation in Jerusalem: 'They had favor with all the people. And the Lord added to them day by day /Acts v, 47.'[85]

Suffering exile had humbled and cleansed them of all earthly vanities. Instead of priding themselves on social status, the exiles valued religious steadfastness more than wealth or noble ancestry:

> Many among them descended from old and respectable families in the Netherlands, whose coats of arms are nowadays still carried in Flanders and Brabant, and they would have had reason enough to boast about their descent according to the worldly manners of the flesh and look down upon people of lower descent. However, none of all that could be found among them, because they had been cleansed in the trying fire of persecution from the cinder of vain pride and honored those as members of their community and brotherhood who were allowed by Christ to suffer in His name. Therefore they did not only grant alms to their poor and persecuted fellow countrymen, but made them full members of their congregation with the same vote in the election of elders and deacons as the church members of respectable ancestry.[86]

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84 Ibid., 'Zuschrift' (unpaginated foreword).

85 'Nun diese löbliche und Christliche Anstalten machten die Niederländer sehr beliebt bey den Einwohnern der hiesigen Stadt, also daß man in gewisser Maaß von ihnen sagen konnte was Lucas von der ersten Christlichen Gemeinde in Jerusalem schreibet: Sie hatten Gnade bey dem gantzen Volck. Der Herr aber tat hinzu täglich zu der Gemeinde / Act. v, 47.' (Ibid., 'Zuschrift' [unpaginated foreword], p. 121). The quote from Acts does not in fact refer to chapter 5, but to chapter 2 (verse 47).

86 'Denn obgleich unterschiedene von ihnen aus alten und guten Familien in den Niederlanden entsprossen waren, wie man noch heutzutag ihre Wappen in Antorff, und sonsten hin und wider in Flandern und Braband antrifft, daß sie also wohl nach der Welt=Manier Fleisches sich hätten rühmen und über arme und geringer Condition Leute sich erheben mögen: allein man findet dergleichen nicht, dieweill sie indem Prüffungs=Feuer der Verfolgung von den Schlacken der eitlen Ehre waren gereinigt worden, und hielten die zur Admission ihrer Gemein= und Brüderschafft vornehm genug zu

The 'trying fires of persecution' had purified them and made them exemplary Christians. Like members of the Martens family (chapter 5) in Utrecht's Pietist milieu, who claimed that their ancestor Carel Martens had been taught to forget his social status while in exile, Lehnemann depicts the exile experience as the constitutive element of his forefathers' Christian humility.

It is interesting that the idea that the experience of exile was a stimulus for exemplary piety seems to have survived until today and has even informed modern scholarly accounts of the nexus between early modern diasporas and the culture of Pietism. According to the Reformed church historian Willem op't Hof, who attempts to explain why so many refugees from the Netherlands participated in the culture of Pietism, pietistic tendencies needed to be understood in the light of their exile experience:

> Religious refugees were by definition highly serious people in their religious conviction. By their escape they not only cut the tie with their past but also forfeited all their securities, while many of them suffered a financial drain as well. They were willing to sacrifice all that for their religion. This religious seriousness was intensified by the traumatic experiences of the hardships suffered during and after the escape, the general feeling of dislocation and the many insecurities in the new situation.[87]

This explanation might not be inaccurate for the first generation of migrants although many refugees in the mercantile business did not only sacrifice but also gained much by their choice to leave their homes. However, this argument does not take into account the fact that pietistic tendencies were much stronger among the second and third generations of migrants. These descendants of Netherlandish exiles did not share the experience of hardship and persecution but often grew up in great wealth. As this chapter shows, the Pietist inclinations of many diaspora members of later generations can better be explained by the appreciation of their minority status in the context of pietistic cultures. As exiled communities of faithful Christians, they became role models for dissenters and separatists. Ancestors who had fled and suffered for their faith could improve their status. At the same time they were often brought up in a

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seyn, welche Christus gewürdigt hatte um seines Namen Willen etwas zu leiden. Darum nahmen sie ihre arme, verfolgte Lands Leute nicht nur allein zu den Almosen an, sondern hielten sie auch vor Glieder der Gemeinde, welche ebenso wohl als die andern, ja vornehmer Extraction waren, zur Sermon kommen und eine freye Stimme bei der Wahl der Aelterlingen und Diaconen haben solten.' (Ibid., p. 120).

87 Op 't Hof, 'Piety in the Wake of Trade,' p. 250.

social milieu where high geographical mobility was the norm, and they could serve as brokers in translocal Pietist networks. In emigration projects like Penn's 'Holy Experiment' in America or the Labadist establishment of a godly community in Frisia, descendants of refugees often took the lead. Even after two and more generations they preserved the broader geographical outlook of their ancestors and were often willing to migrate again.

The culture of the early modern religious diaspora has commonly been described in terms of confessional allegiances, and it is true that until the first half of the seventeenth century confessionalism played an important role in keeping the translocal diaspora ties close.[88] In the religious culture of Puritan and Pietist Separatism, however, confessionalism became less important. Pietist believers of all confessions participated in the same networks, and William Penn's emigration projects attracted not only Quakers but also Pietists of Lutheran, Reformed and Mennonite signature. Penn's Quakers as well as the Frankfurt Separatists around Schütz and followers of Labadie felt that the various confessions created ungodly obstacles between the true believers. These boundaries needed to be overcome if the faithful were to be united in the future. As Anna Maria van Schurman saw it, only those who were spiritually blind thought in terms of 'Popish, Lutheran and Reformed' while the Labadist community she belonged to was a 'gathering' of true believers.[89] This aggregation of true Christians relied on their separation from the sinful world in which they lived as strangers and wanderers. While such exile metaphors played decisive roles in the formation of Pietist groups, their identification with a wider diaspora also had practical implications, and they formed transnational networks that connected them with believers abroad with whom they felt they had more in common than with their ungodly neighbors.

The Pietist commemoration of steadfast refugees separated from the sinful world was cultivated in Pietist circles for much longer than the period covered in this book. Early Netherlandish ancestry was commemorated until the late nineteenth century in the biographical culture of Württemberg Pietism: various families traced their ancestral roots back to the Antwerp migrant family Williardts, whose members were celebrated as exemplary exiled Christians and founding fathers of a new godly lineage.[90]

88 See e.g.: Grell, *Brethren in Christ*; Grell, 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist network,'

89 Van Schurman, *Eucleria*, p. 301.

90 Gleixner, *Pietismus und Bürgertum*, p. 191.

Conclusion: Permeable Memories

In 1755, the Protestant churches of Frankfurt celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of the Peace of Augsburg with a commemorative service. In addition to Johann Friedrich Starck, celebrated as the 'spiritual father' of the Netherlandish congregation of the Augsburg Confession and other Lutheran clergymen, the minister of the Reformed Church of Frankfurt, Dietrich Pörtner, preached a sermon about the history of Protestantism in Frankfurt and the Holy Roman Empire.[1] Although the Reformed migrants and their descendants had been excluded from citizenship and forced to hold church services outside the town's borders for a long time, Pörtner did not directly mention the problematic history of Lutheran-Reformed relations in Frankfurt. In Pörtner's account of the past there was only one Protestant Church, and, like many Reformed Germans, he implicitly claimed that his confessional current had been included in the Peace of Augsburg, even though the agreement was limited to those who subscribed to the Augsburg Confession.[2] After the great achievement of Augsburg, Pörtner lamented, the unity of Protestants had often been disturbed by harsh theological discussions between people of the same faith who attacked each other as if they had forgotten Christ's commandment of brotherly love.[3] While he did not conceal tensions between Lutherans and Calvinists, Pörtner put them in a different context. The antagonism within the Protestant confessions did not constitute enmity between adherents of different faiths but between coreligionists, since all Protestants shared the same religious heritage. Their quarrels did not originate in the Reformation but were of a later date and did not concern fundamental matters of faith. In Pörtner's account, the period of the Peace of Augsburg is depicted as a time when Protestants were still united.

The celebration of the Peace of Augsburg's anniversary and the participation of Reformed and Lutheran clergymen who belonged to or were dedicated to one of the stranger churches illustrate the flexible uses of the past

1 Hermann Dechent, *Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt am Main seit der Reformation*, vol. 2, Leipzig/Frankfurt a. M. 1921, p. 186.

2 This interpretation was also defended by many earlier Reformed Germans, such as the Elector Palatine Fredrick III, who asserted that he and other Reformed nobles in the Empire were in full agreement with the Augsburg Confession (in its *Variata* version) and that the Heidelberg Catechism was in accordance with its doctrines. See: Matthias Pohlig, 'Wahrheit als Lüge—oder: Schloss der Augsburger Religionsfrieden den Calvinismus aus?', in: Andreas Pietsch and Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Konfessionelle Ambiguität. Uneindeutigkeit und Verstellung als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Heidelberg 2013, pp. 142–169.

3 Dechent, *Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt am Main*, vol. 2, p. 186.

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in the context of early modern religious diversity. The two Reformed stranger congregations of Frankfurt always found themselves in a considerably less friendly environment than most Netherlandish stranger churches in England or Germany, yet the descendants of migrants did not retreat into their own 'memory ghetto' but were able to fuse their own past with the memory canons of their neighbors. This does not mean that contested and painful events were easily forgotten: the two chronicles of the Reformed congregation of Frankfurt contain long passages on Lutheran hostilities against Reformed refugees, and Utenhove's account of the odyssey of his coreligionists chased away from Lutheran towns along the North Sea coast in 1553/54 is extensively quoted and paraphrased.[4] Abraham Mangon's chronicle, which emphasized this episode most strongly and dedicated no fewer than forty-five pages to it, was written less than three decades before Pörtner's sermon, probably between 1728 and 1730, and was preserved and copied in various manuscripts throughout the eighteenth century.[5] Obviously the painful past was still present and continued to be retold in the mid-eighteenth century. Within their own congregation, the Reformed of Frankfurt used a different tone in reference to the past than they did in public when they sought to incorporate it into the historical narratives of the Lutheran majority. Both versions of their history were part of their identity, disseminated differently according to situations and contexts.

This study demonstrates that while memories of persecution and exile connected diaspora groups all over Europe, they were also incorporated into and fused together with existing memory canons of the migrants' new host societies. Even in towns such as Frankfurt where the social position of Reformed strangers had been difficult for long periods of time, the cultivation of their exile identity did not totally exclude them from religious and social life. To be sure, the degree to which exile memories and the history canons of the host societies could be fused depended on the local situation and the relations between strangers and natives. Studies on the integration of Southern Netherlandish refugees, especially those in the Dutch Republic, often emphasized antagonisms between newcomers and natives and assumed

4 Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Deutsch-Reformierte Gemeinde, inv.nr. 148: Mangon, Geschichte der beiden Gemeinden, fol. 45–90, and inv.nr. 149, Chronik der beiden Gemeinden.

5 Irene Dingel assumes that Mangon's chronicle was written '1712 *post quem*', but inv.nr. 148 is continued until 1728 (Dingel, *Abraham Mangon: Kurze doch wahrhafftige Beschreibung*, p. 22). This manuscript, which displays only one handwriting, is not mentioned by Dingel. There is no evidence that the manuscript is a later copy by another writer who continued the chronicle until 1728 when Mangon was still alive, therefore I assume that the work was completed by Mangon between 1728 and his death in 1734.

a subsequent process of integration of migrants into their host societies, putting an end to identification with the lost homeland and the diaspora community.[6] From the earliest period of migration from the Low Countries, the identification with lost homes *and* new host towns turns out to have been much more hybrid in nature. The geographical outlook of the exiles can best be described as 'translocal'—while they were firmly rooted in their host societies, they still maintained links to other refugee towns and remained part of wider diasporic networks. Until the eighteenth century, and sometimes even later, family contacts and networks were maintained while the same descendants of Netherlandish migrants simultaneously participated in the social and political lives of their new hometowns.

In order to form a better understanding of hybrid migrant identities and memories, I chose to take a new approach to understanding early modern diasporic networks. Instead of treating diaspora groups as collectives of individuals to which one either did or did not belong, the focus of this book has been on the underlying narratives that allowed for the socialization of individuals in diasporic networks. The notion of belonging to a diaspora relied on the commemoration of the exile past and on a meaningful narrative about the migrants' positions and identities. The Netherlandish diaspora did not shape all aspects of an individual's life, and it was by no means self-evident who actually belonged to it. People like Daniel Rogers, born to an English father and a Flemish mother, or Johannes Lehnemann, who had only one grandmother who descended from Antwerp refugees, strongly identified with their exiled ancestors. Intermarrying with non-migrants did not necessarily put an end to the identification with the diaspora, and could even strengthen one's consciousness of descending from migrants, as in the case of the Martens family in Utrecht, who cultivated their exile past for generations while simultaneously entering the local elites of their new town. The narrative of religious persecution legitimized their status as newcomers and their social position in Utrecht's orthodox Reformed circles. The same is true for members of the Council of Brabant, such as the Du Tour family, whose members married into northern regent families yet continued to cherish their old Brabant networks.

The notion of belonging to the Southern Netherlandish diaspora was not a self-evident necessity, and many migrants of the first generation cut ties to their old networks. No less than one third of the first generation of Protestant Netherlandish migrants in London joined English parish churches instead of the Dutch or French-speaking stranger congregations.[7] In the Dutch Republic where refugees shared the language of the majority and belonged to the

6 See e.g.: Briels, *Zuidnederlanders in de Republiek*.

7 Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten*, p. 138, footnote 245.

privileged confession, identification with one's southern heritage was even less self-explanatory. We must not forget that the cases discussed in this book are not representative of the entire population of Southern Netherlandish refugees and that many migrants had few or no ties to the exile networks that connected them with their past. Stranger churches often attracted people without migratory backgrounds who shared the same faith and identified with the narrative of persecuted Christians. Such was the case in Frankfurt where the originally Dutch-speaking Reformed congregation changed its language to German at an early stage and included many German members who intermarried with refugees and their descendants.[8] In London, where the Reformed stranger churches attracted English Puritans, the situation was comparable. Clearly, the diasporic networks were not primarily based on descent but on a shared religious narrative about a past of suffering and persecution and the choice to embrace the narrative. The diaspora was not a socio-demographical given nor a static self-evident community but rather a horizon of belonging structured by narratives that people could choose to adopt or not. In this sense it consisted of memories that were transmitted so as to allow new generations to identify with the handed-down tales of exile and persecution.

This 'narrativization' of the concept of diaspora does not, of course, imply that social data like marriage patterns and family structures are irrelevant to the study of memory transmission and the continuation of the diaspora. To be sure, family bonds played a crucial role, yet it was up to each new generation to measure the relevance of and to rediscover or reinvent the meaning of their diasporic identity. This continuation was not self-evident, and many descendants of migrants did not continue the networks of their families or participate in their memory cultures. Surprisingly, individuals with only a few migrants among their ancestors could be very active in refugee communities while persons of exclusively migrant backgrounds often displayed little interest. Collecting data on endogamy can tell us much about the processes of assimilation or exclusion of the migrants, yet decisive aspects of identification with the early modern Netherlandish diaspora remain hidden and the various 'ethnic options' of second-generation migrants remain unconsidered.[9] Not only are numerous individuals overlooked who regarded themselves as part of a (former) refugee community even though their parents and grandparents had married locals of their new homes, but the specific meanings of belonging to the diaspora also remain unclear. The examination of narrative constructions of the diaspora shows that the sense of belonging to the transnational

8 Dechent, *Kirchengeschichte von Frankfurt am Main*, p. 45.

9 Waters, *Ethnic Options*, pp. 10ff.

exile networks was based on voluntary allegiance rather than on linear descent from and identification with a homogeneous, demographically defined group.

In areas where the confession of many refugees was privileged, as was the case in the Dutch Republic, their exile background could give them a special and prestigious status. In exile towns abroad where their confession was tolerated or shared by local minorities, such as English Puritans or German Reformed, the cultivation of their migrant identity could also be beneficial to them. Virtually all early modern religious confessions celebrated suffering for the sake of faith as proof of exemplary piety, and discourses of exile as a sign of God's election had already emerged during the first waves of migration from the Low Countries. As the first chapter of this book shows, not only Calvinists but also Mennonites, Lutherans, Catholics and spiritualists engaged in religious cultures that glorified exile and homelessness and mirrored them with biblical narratives of exemplary believers such as Abraham, Moses and exiled prophets from the time of the Babylonian captivity. These discourses lived on throughout the seventeenth century and later. Particularly in the context of English Puritanism, and later in circles of Dutch and German Pietism, identification with persecuted and afflicted believers both in the past and present became part of new religious discourses and identities. While exile and suffering had originally provided religious migrants with a meaningful narrative that affirmed their status as the new wandering Israel in a hostile wilderness, the growth of Calvinism in the Dutch Republic and the experience of living among a majority of coreligionists in exile towns abroad undermined the exclusivity of the migrants' position. Embracing the exile past of the afflicted ancestors was a way of regaining an exclusive religious status. Non-migrant believers who felt that their societies were Christianized in name only while populated by a majority of lukewarm sympathizers were attracted by the stranger churches' heritage. The dynamics of the identification with a translocal diaspora of staunch believers sometimes blurred the boundaries between English and Dutch stranger churches, which on rare occasions went so far as to exchange ministers. In Frankfurt, the Netherlandish Lutheran congregation was so attractive to local coreligionists that by the mid-seventeenth century the majority of members were in some way related to Germans, and by the end of the eighteenth century most of the names on the congregation's membership list were of German origin.[10]

This great degree of inclusivity of stranger churches was, ironically, the result of a religious narrative of exclusivity: to join the diasporic churches and

10 Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main, Niederl. Gemeinde Augs. Confession 1, inv.nr. 27.

networks involved becoming part of a translocal community of 'true' believers who distinguished themselves from lukewarm 'name-Christians.' While in migration studies the tendency to maintain boundaries between migrant communities and local populations has often been stressed as an essential trait of diaspora groups, this study shows that in the case of the early modern Netherlandish diaspora, boundary maintenance primarily had a discursive function. By distinguishing their own networks and groups from the rest of the populace, a boundary was created that, paradoxically, allowed non-migrants to participate in a discourse that revolved around religious exclusivism. Thus, boundary maintenance of diasporas does not have to be grounded in ethnodemographical group identities but rather in culturally produced narratives of diasporic cultures. In the case of the early modern Netherlandish migrant networks and stranger churches, it was precisely this notion of an exclusive boundary or distinction that attracted non-migrants and allowed them to participate in the diaspora's culture. Whether the Netherlandish diaspora was typical or atypical in this respect remains to be seen in future research.

Historians of early modern religion have often seen the culture of exile as a typically or even exclusively Reformed phenomenon. While Calvinists played the most important role in the cultivation of diasporic identities compared to other migrant groups from the early modern Netherlands, other groups also developed and engaged in discourses of exile. While the experience of exile has often been linked to the formation and consolidation of confessional allegiances, the case of spiritualists, discussed in the first chapter of this book, shows that the 'theology of exile' did not necessarily imply a confessionalized narrative; on the contrary, the notion of the true church as a small flock dispersed among various antagonistic confessional camps as proclaimed by Coornhert was a typically spiritualist idea that relied on the narrative of exile and persecution just as much as and perhaps even more than many characteristics of Calvinist 'exile theology' in the late sixteenth century. We should therefore be careful about postulating any inherent relationship between the cultivation of religious exile identities and emerging cultures of confessionalism. Narratives and memories of exile and migration could indeed stimulate confessionalism, but this was not always the case. Already in the first half of the seventeenth century when Reformed churches in England and the Dutch Republic held collections for exiled coreligionists in the Holy Roman Empire, donations were given not only to Calvinists but sometimes also to Lutherans who had lost their homes during the Thirty Years War.[11]

11 See e.g.: Hessels, *Archivum*, vol. 2, p. 1934 (1628).

While such occasions of transconfessional charity were, admittedly, rare in the early seventeenth century, newly emerging cultures of piety and devotion led to a cultivation of exile memories with few confessionalist implications. For believers attracted to the religious culture of Pietism, confessional allegiance was no longer proof of godliness since they sensed among those who confessed Christ with words many whose lives were not lived in accordance with the gospel. Even if the Pietist movement, aside from during its most radical separatist currents, never totally undermined the culture of confessionalism, Reformed, Lutheran and other believers often engaged in the same Pietist networks. As the case of Frankfurt shows, stranger churches could be catalysts in this process: disappointed Lutherans who lamented the miserable state of the city's mainstream churches turned towards stranger congregations and joined local Pietist networks in their surroundings. Stranger churches could function as alternatives and counterparts to emerging separatist conventicles. Instead of breaking with the institutional church in favor of a separatist group, its members were able to distinguish themselves from what they saw as lukewarm mainstream religion and identify with an imagined exile community. Being part of an assembly grounded in a history of homelessness and affliction gave them the exclusive status that was so attractive to Pietist believers.

Identification with a transnational diaspora of exiles had religious as well as political implications, as the second and third chapters of this book show. In the Dutch Republic where most of the Southern Netherlandish refugees ultimately found their new homes, the exile past was regarded as proof of migrant loyalty to the cause of the Revolt against the 'Spanish' enemy. Not only migrants but also many Hollanders felt that the southern refugees had made major sacrifices for the common cause that united all true patriots. Gisbert Voetius, for example, who attacked his political antagonist Pieter de la Court, son of Flemish refugees, in a polemical pamphlet, praised southern migrants 'who left their fatherland and everything else and proved themselves as keen supporters of the Reformed religion and the prince.'[12] From the mass migration of the 1580s onwards, southern exiles engaged in discourses of patriotism and fervently propagated the unity of all Netherlandish provinces, which needed to stand strong against the Habsburg oppressors. They tried to overcome old sentiments of provincial particularism and unite Netherlandish patriots in one cause. This discourse of a united 'fatherland' aimed to serve two ends: firstly, the continuation of the war against the 'Spaniard' to liberate the lost homeland and, secondly, the legitimization of the migrants' position in their new society. The first goal was not only unattainable, attempts to reach it had the opposite

12 Voetius, *Den Ver-resenen Barnevelt*, fol. B3. See also chapter 3 of this study.

effect; the appeal for unity contributed to the irreversible separation of the two new Netherlandish states. After 1609, the year the Twelve Years' Truce between the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic was signed, most refugees gave up hope of ever returning to their former homes in the South. The 'hot memory' that had served to encourage a military solution of what they saw as a foreign occupation died, and many of the first generation of migrants became silent about the past. They lived in a society they saw as the home of all true patriots, yet felt that at the same time they were strangers.

It was in later generations that a new 'cold' form of memory, without a direct call for political action, evolved in the Dutch Republic. As the fourth chapter of this book shows, many migrant families consolidated narratives about their history in later periods when their memories were no longer so painful. Once the hope of returning to Flanders and Brabant was abandoned, memories of exile and persecution served to provide a meaningful narrative of the migrants' past and identity and to define their position in their host society. While strangers could be targets of anti-migrant rhetoric, they countered accusations of religious radicalism or economic opportunism by referring to their loyalty to the 'common fatherland' and the cause of the Revolt or the 'true faith.' Descendants of migrants readily engaged in discourses about loyalty to one's hometown and the implications of being a reliable burgher and citizen. Authors such as Simon Stevin and Pieter de la Court countered notions of ancestry and lineage as criteria for in- or exclusion and criticized local claims to special privileges by established families or guilds. They promoted new concepts of citizenship in which voluntary allegiance to a (new) town rather than local descent defined who was an acceptable citizen. The same motifs were also deployed in other contexts, such as civic rhetoric festivities or in literary texts, in which a choice to commit oneself to the new local society was regarded as the main criterion of truly belonging. In this context, the exile heritage provided migrants with a convincing narrative: in the past they, or their ancestors, had suffered for the right cause while in the present they were committed to towns of their choice, thereby proving to be even more loyal than many who had been born in their current place of residence yet did not behave as true citizens.

The notion of voluntariness that was promoted by many migrants in the first half of the seventeenth century should not be overlooked. Despite ideological implications at the time, it reveals important aspects of diasporic group formation, which have long been overlooked in historical and sociological research. While the Netherlandish exile networks were sometimes preserved for centuries, new religious cultures allowed people without a migrant background to participate in such networks and memory cultures. We have seen

that the Netherlandish diaspora was not a self-evident demographic given but rather an imagined discursive entity that depended on the agency of individuals, families and networks to continue its traditions. Being born to migrant parents did not automatically imply belonging to the diaspora. The same was true for the participation in local affairs in the new host towns. As this book shows, most migrants did not limit their participation to a single discourse, either that of the diaspora or the local host society, but engaged in both. In the case of the migrants in the Dutch Republic, these two discourses were actually inseparable: the notion of belonging to the imagined southern migrant community was intrinsically imbedded in the memory cultures and historical narratives of the rest of the population. Instead of implying the maintenance of clear boundaries between the diaspora and host society, migrant identity had immediate consequences on the relationship with the local population and created obligations towards their new home. Nevertheless, the migrants' incorporation into local social systems did not lead to an end of the diaspora but allowed for a continuation of exile identities and memories in new contexts. In the territories outside the Low Countries where migrants could not refer to any unifying 'national' bond between newcomers and locals, the situation was different. However, as in England and Germany, the diasporic networks did not create separate 'memory ghettos' but integrated their perception of the past into local contexts.

Thus, the memory cultures of the Southern Netherlandish diaspora were permeable regarding other narratives and discourses rather than exclusively closed and static. Besides their permeability for the memory cultures of their host societies, which allowed for discursive exchanges, the exile memories were also permeable between generations. Each generation had to reinvent and incorporate the historical identity constructions of their parents and grandparents into their own situation in order to continue them. As the fourth chapter shows, meanings attached to the ancestors' past could vary substantially from one generation to the next. Descendants of refugees often benefited from their family's past by re-telling the story according to the expectations of their social environment by proclaiming their ancestors' religious convictions, for example, or assuming noble Southern Netherlandish descent combined with references to the unity of all the Low Country provinces. Refashioning the past sometimes helped patrician families enter local regent circles. Migrant memories were thus highly flexible, could be used in multiple ways and were open to reinterpretation in various religious and political contexts.

The memories of Netherlandish migrants traveled with them throughout Europe and produced diverse and heterogeneous links and acculturations in their Dutch, German and English host societies. While deploying the same

handed-down motifs, memories of exile and persecution were multiformed and incorporated into various settings. They became part of religious cultures that absorbed the heroic past of suffering and struggle in a hostile environment into their historical narratives and contrasted the comfortable present with memories of hardship and affliction that demanded sacrifices and reminded contemporaries of the costs of Christian life. Both migrants and non-migrants participated and contributed to these cultures, and instead of implying strict boundaries between strangers and locals, exile memories allowed individuals, often regardless of their ancestral heritage, to engage in discourses of religious heroism. That the rhetoric of these discourses had an intrinsically exclusivist logic did, paradoxically, not inhibit the inclusivity and permeability of an imagined diaspora and attracted individuals with and without migrant backgrounds.

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